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GHAZĀLĪ'S BOOK OF
Counsel for Kings

(*NAṢIḤAT AL-MULŪK*)

Translated by

F. R. C. BAGLEY

from the Persian text edited by

JALĀL HUMĀ'Ī

and the Bodleian Arabic text

edited by H. D. ISAACS

with Introduction, Notes, and

Biographical Index

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INTRODUCTION

MIRRORS FOR PRINCES

Books of counsel for rulers, or 'Mirrors for Princes', form a distinctive and interesting genre of classical Arabic and Persian literature. They show how complete was the synthesis achieved between the Arab-Islamic and old Persian elements which were the main components of medieval Muslim civilization. They make impartial use of examples attributed to Arab Caliphs and Sāsānid kings, to Šūfī saints and Persian sages; they islamize Zoroastrian maxims such as 'religion and empire are brothers'; and they assume rightly or wrongly a substantial identity and continuity between Sāsānian and Islamic state institutions. During the early 'Abbāsīd period, emphasis on the Persian contribution to Islamic civilization sometimes represented a *shu'ūbite* or nationalistic tendency among the Persian Muslims. Such nationalism must have been a factor in the revival of Persian as a literary language; it was to be expressed in no uncertain terms by Firdawsī (c. 320/932–410/1020) in his *Shāhnāmāh*. In general, however, religious universalism prevailed over national particularism; and Persians were foremost among the thinkers who developed the faith of Islam into a world religion. At the same time, Muslims of every nationality and school of thought came to accept the view of Muslim civilization as a Perso-Islamic synthesis. Thus, the Spanish Muslim Ibn 'Abd Rabbih of Cordoba (d. 329/940) placed a 'Mirror for Princes' full of Persian material at the head of his vast anthology of belles-lettres, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*;¹ and the jurist al-Māwardī of Baṣrah (364/975–450/1058), author of *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyah*,² the

¹ Ed. by Aḥmad Amīn *et al.*, 7 vols., Cairo, 1367/1948–1372/1953; Book I, *Kitāb al-Lu'lu'ah fī'l-Sulṭān*.

² Tr. by E. Fagnan, *Les statuts gouvernementaux*, Algiers, 1915. Among other works said to have been written by Māwardī, Fagnan mentions (Introduction, p. vii): *Naṣīḥat ul-Mulūk*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS. Arabes, No. 2447, 3; *Sīyāsat al-Mamlakah*; *Qānūn* (or *Qawānīn*) *al-Wizārah*; *Ma'rīfat al-Faḍa'il* (on moral virtues); *Adab al-dunyā wa'l-dīn*, printed at Constantinople 1299/1881 and at Cairo, 1305/1887 and 1315/1897; *al-Amthāl wa'l-hikām* (aphorisms), Leiden, manuscript 344, catalogue vol. i, p. 196; and *Ta'jīl al-naẓar wa tashīl al-ẓafar*. The last-named work was studied by Gustav Richter (see his *Studien zur*

greatest theoretical exposition of Islamic constitutional law, also wrote books of advice for rulers which have not yet been fully studied by modern scholars, but which appear to resemble others of their kind. The classical 'Mirrors', with their Perso-Islamic outlook, continued to be copied, and also imitated and translated, during the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods, and must have been read by Sultāns and officials of those empires and have influenced their thought and action. Materials found in 'Mirrors' also passed into popular folklore; and having been used along with Sūfī materials by Sa'dī in his *Bustān* and *Gulistān*, they are still familiar to all who read or quote from those immortal works.

Not only the content, but also the form, of the 'Mirrors' reflect the convergence of Persian and Arab heritages and tastes. Sāsānian court literature must have consisted very largely of precepts or generalizations exemplified by aphorisms and anecdotes. The Traditions of Islam (*Hadīth*) are of similar character, arranged either according to source (*musnad*), i.e. under the name of a transmitter, or in the more widely used compilations according to subject (*muṣannaf*), i.e. in the form of rulings attested by sayings or actions ascribed to Muḥammad or his Companions. Analogous forms are found in the literature concerning Sūfī (mystic) saints; while elegant prose literature, *adab*, also often took the form of generalizations illustrated by anecdotes, aphorisms or verses.

Knowledge of Sāsānian literature first became available to Muslims, over a century after the Arab conquest of 'Irāq and Irān, through the Arabic translations made by Ibn al-Muqaffa' (c. 106/724–139/757), who also wrote the first original Arabic works of *adab* and advice for rulers. More will be said later in this Introduction about his achievements and about the sources of the Sāsānian and other materials found in the 'Mirrors'.¹ Ibn al-Muqaffa's purpose, and indeed the purpose of many of the Pahlavi writings which he translated, appears to have been partly to convey ethical teachings, partly to advise on practical expediency and etiquette, and partly—perhaps mainly—to give pleasure through literary elegance and

Geschichte der älteren arabischen Fürstenspiegel, Leipzig, 1932, pp. 69–70), in a manuscript at Gotha entitled *Tashīl al-naẓar wa ta'jīl al-baṣar* (catalogue ed. Pertsch No. 1872—probably now stolen by the Russians). Richter found this to be a non-rhetorical 'Mirror' concerned mainly with doctrinaire and Islamic ethics, but containing a few sayings attributed to Anūshīrvān, Parviz and unnamed sages as well as to 'ulamā'.

¹ See below, pp. lix–lxi.

wit.¹ The same mixture of motives is apparent in subsequent *adab* literature, whether the subject be advice for rulers or other favourite themes such as friends, ascetics, *wazīrs*, secretaries, horses, women, or moral qualities and their antitheses. The resultant literary products are sometimes edifying and often witty; but the confusion between ethico-religious and practical criteria, and the quest for rhetorical effect, impede rational consideration of subject-matter in such works. 'Mirrors for Princes' do not venture upon systematic treatment of the problems of government and of state and society. Such treatment was indeed attempted by Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798),² Māwardī, and other lawyers, whose approach is strictly rational within the limits of their doctrinal postulates, and by Fārābī (d. 339/950) and subsequent philosophers,³ who attempted to reconcile Platonic theories with Islamic concepts. Authors of 'Mirrors', however, keep clear of both constitutional law and political theory, and simply take for granted the existence of an Islamic state in whatever form they themselves knew it.

Along with common features, different 'Mirrors' show considerable variety of emphasis and subject-matter, having been written by men of different backgrounds. The *Kitāb al-Tāj*, written sometime between 232/847 and 247/861 and falsely attributed to al-Jāhīz,⁴ is a manual of etiquette containing also political and ethical counsels; addressed to both rulers and courtiers, it holds up Sāsānian practices as models, but also quotes examples of Muslim Caliphs. Ibn Qutaybah (213/828–275/889) wrote primarily as a man of letters in the treatise on rulership (*Kitāb al-Sulṭān*) which forms the first book of his compilation of *adab*, '*Uyūn al-Akhbār*';⁵

¹ This is evident in his Arabic version of *Kalīlah wa Dimnah*: text, ed. 'Azzām, Cairo, 1360/1941, and ed. Cheikho, Beirut, 1905; French tr. by André Miquel, Paris, 1957.

² In his *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, tr. E. Fagnan, *Le livre de l'impôt foncier*, Algiers, 1915. In the first part of this work, which he wrote for Hārūn al-Rāshid, Abū Yūsuf explains the Caliph's responsibility to God for enforcing Islamic law and maintaining just government.

³ An intelligible account of their ideas is now available in E. I. J. Rosenthal's *Political thought in medieval Islam*, Cambridge, 1958, Part II, pp. 113–223.

⁴ Ed. Aḥmad Zakī Pāshā, Cairo, 1322/1914; tr. Ch. Pellat, Paris, 1954. Prof. Pellat argues convincingly that the Arabic style of the work, which is rather clumsy and obviously influenced by Persian, differs so greatly from the masterly Arabic of most of the works of Jāhīz that its attribution to him must be false. The book is dedicated to the Amīr Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān, *mawla* of the Prince of the Believers; of Turkish origin, he was a secretary and favourite of the Caliph Mutawakkil and was murdered with him in 247/861.

⁵ Cairo, 1343/1925–1349/1930.

and Ibn 'Abd Rabbih did the same in the first book of his *al-'Iqd al-Farid*, which contains very similar materials, perhaps drawn from common sources to which both Ibn Qutaybah and he had access.

In the *Kitāb Baghdād* of Abū'l-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr comes the letter which Ṭāhir Dhū'l-Yamīnayn ('The Ambidextrous', d. 207/822), then viceroy of Khurāsān, sent to his son 'Abd Allāh on the latter's appointment by the Caliph al-Ma'mūn to the governorship of Diyār Rabī'ah in Northern Mesopotamia.¹ Ṭāhir advises 'Abd Allāh how to rule as a pious Muslim governor, and although some of his counsels are of old Persian origin, he regards them as Islamic precepts and does not ascribe them to Sāsānid kings or their sages.

Besides these, numerous other 'Mirrors', of which some have survived, were written in Arabic,² mostly, it seems, by authors

¹ In book VI of the *Kitāb Baghdād*, which has been ed. and tr. by H. Keller, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1908; cf. Richter, op. cit., pp. 80-81.

² Richter (op. cit.) mentions: *al-Tibr al-munsabik fi tadbīr al-mulūk* by 'Alī ibn al-Ahwāzī, Cairo, 1900. This is not named in Brockelmann's list (*G.A.L.*, Suppl. 1, p. 720) of the works of Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan . . . al-Ahwāzī, a philologist and Qur'ānic scholar, d. 466/1055. Among them Brockelmann includes a *Kitāb al-Farā'id wa'l-Qalā'id*; Ghazālī quotes from a work of that name (p. 99 below) and attributes it to Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Ahwāzī. According to the *Ḥadā'iq al-Sihr* of Rashīd al-Dīn Wīṭwāt, cited by Prof. Humā'i, this was Abū'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Ahwāzī, a contemporary of Tha'ālībī (d. 429/1038), the author of *Yatīmat al-Dahr*. It may well be that all these variant names represent one author who originated from Ahwāz.

Sirāj al-mulūk by Ibn Abī Randaqah al-Ṭurtūshī (451/1059-520/1126 or 525/1131), a native of Tortosa in Spain who migrated to Egypt. Besides Persian material, the work contains sayings of an Indian sage Shānāq, which have been shown to come (through Persia) from a Sanskrit book of wisdom called Rājanīti compiled by an author named Chanakya. (Richter, op. cit., p. 92.) Ibn Abī Randaqah was an opponent of Ghazālī and wrote his *Sirāj al-Mulūk* in the hope of outshining Ghazālī's *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* (Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, Suppl. 1, pp. 829-30).

Sulwān al-Matā' by Ibn Zafar (d. 565/1169 or 568/1172), a Sicilian who migrated to Mecca; text, Tunis 1279/1862; tr. by M. Amari, *Conforti Politici*, Florence, 1862. This contains not only Persian materials, but also animal stories of Indian origin, some but not all from *Kalīlah wa Dimnah*. Stories are included within stories as in the Arabian Nights, and this fashion is also said to be Indian (but probably received through Persia). (Richter, op. cit., pp. 91-92; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.* 1, pp. 351-2.)

Kitāb al-Tadhkirah of Ibn Ḥamdūn of Baghdād (495/1101-562/1167), a philological and historical anthology containing a 'Mirror' (Brockelmann, *G.A.L.* 1, pp. 280-1).

Also to be mentioned are:

Adāb al-Furs wa'l-'Arab by Ibn Miskawayh (d. 421/1030), the historian and

whose approach was wholly literary; and items which recur in 'Mirrors' are also found in compilations of *adab* such as the *Kitāb al-Maḥāsīn wa'l-Masāwī* of Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Bayhaqī (early fourth/tenth cent.),¹ as well as in historical works.

Better known and much more interesting are the 'Mirrors' written in Persian during the period of Saljūq domination:² namely the *Qābūs-nāmah* composed in 375/1082 by Kay Kā'ūs ibn Iskandar;³ the *Siyāsāt-nāmah* of Nizām al-Mulk (408/1018-485/1092);⁴ and the *Kitāb Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* of Abu Ḥamīd Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (450/1058/9-505/1111).

The *Qābūs-nāmah* is a book of counsel addressed by the Ziyārid prince of Ṭabaristān to his son and heir Gilānshāh. Proud of his illustrious ancestry, but impecunious and not very secure on his throne as a vassal of the Saljūqs, Kay Kā'ūs was a realist; he was far from sure that his son would be able to retain the throne, and indeed Gilānshāh did not reign long before the Saljūq Sultān Malikshāh deposed him and put an end to the dynasty. Besides giving advice on statecraft, war, etiquette, domestic life, and sport, Kay Kā'ūs tells his son how to practise other professions to which he might have to turn, namely those of doctor of religion ('ālim), merchant, doctor of medicine, astrologer, poet, musician, courtier, secretary, farmer, craftsman, condottiere or *darvish*. No other work gives so vivid a picture of life as it was lived in the heyday of medieval Islamic civilization. Interspersed through the book are sayings and anecdotes, mostly of Muslim but partly of

scholar of Greek philosophy, author of *Tajārib al-Umam* and *Tahdhīb al-Akhlaq* (which incorporates some of Aristotle's ethics). See p. lxvi below.

A lost 'Mirror' entitled *al-Kitāb al-Mulūkī*, or *Sirāt al-Mulūk*, by Abū Manṣūr 'Abd al-Malik al-Tha'ālībī (350/961-429/1038), author of the well-known collection of poems and lives of poets entitled *Yatīmat al-Dahr* (Brockelmann, *G.A.L.* 1, p. 286, and Suppl. 11, p. 502)

¹ Ed. F. Schwally, Giessen, 1902; *Index und Stellennachweise* by O. Rescher, Stuttgart, 1923.

² An earlier 'Mirror' in Persian has survived from the Sāmānid or Ghaznavid period. This is the *Adab al-Saltanah wa'l-Wizārah*, text in C. Schefer, *Chrestomathie Persane*, Paris, 1883, pp. 10-28 (Richter, op. cit., p. 87, and W. Geiger and E. Kühn, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, Strasbourg, 1896-1904, vol. ii, p. 347).

³ Text, ed. R. Levy, London, 1951 (Gibb Memorial Series, n.s., xviii). Tr. F. Diez, Berlin, 1811; A. Querry, Paris, 1886; R. Levy, London, 1951.

⁴ Text, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris, 1891; similar text, ed. M. Modarresi Chahardehi, Tehran, 1334/1956; a variant text, ed. Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahīm Khalkhālī, Tehran, 1310/1931. Tr. Ch. Schefer, Paris, 1891; H. Darke, London, 1960; K. E. Schabinger Freiherr von Schowingen, Freiburg/Munich, 1960.

Sāsānian origin, and verses of the author's own composition. He recommends strict observance of Islam (except as regards wine-drinking) and upholds lofty ethical principles, always bearing in mind the limitations imposed by need and expediency. 'In all your deeds and words', he says, 'let your generosity be as large as your means will permit.'

The *Siyāsatnāmah* is equally realistic and valuable as a historical document, even though the bulk of the text consists of Muslim and Sāsānian anecdotes and sayings. Niẓām al-Mulk, the illustrious *wazīr* of the Saljūqs, had had quarter of a century's experience of office when he composed or directed the composition of the work in response to a demand by Malikshāh for a report on the shortcomings of the Saljūq empire.¹ The book consists of his suggestions for reform, with or without anecdotes and aphorisms to illustrate them. Some of these suggestions follow the line of traditional maxims, but others are more specific and detailed. Niẓām al-Mulk complains of dishonesty and extortion by tax-collectors, *qādis* (judges), and military holders of estates granted by the Sulṭān in fief. In order to detect such abuses, and also in order to detect heresy, he calls for the re-establishment of a state intelligence service² and for the regular holding of royal audiences; both were traditional Sāsānian and Muslim practices, but the Sulṭān Alp Arslān had renounced the former on the ground that spying was unchivalrous, and the latter had evidently fallen into neglect. Niẓām al-Mulk also cites the example of the Ṣaffārid king Ya'qūb ibn Layth (d. 265/879) as a warning against defiance of 'Abbāsīd Caliphal suzerainty, which was Malikshāh's intention at that time. He has much to say about army organization and recommends traditional practices, also apparently neglected by the Saljūq régime, such as employing troops of many nations and taking hostages from recently subdued peoples. The last chapters of the book appear to have been written at a later date, probably not long before Niẓām al-Mulk's death. Here he deplores the practices of making plural appointments and of employing heretics and non-

¹ According to the Istanbul manuscript used by Darke (op. cit., p. 1), Malikshāh's order for the preparation of the report was given in 479/1086. The *Siyāsatnāmah* was not 'published' (so to speak) until the royal librarian made a copy for the Sulṭān Muḥammad ibn Malikshāh, probably some time after his accession in 499/1105.

² Traditionally this was a function of postal officials. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. *Barīd*.

Muslims at a time when there was unemployment among the educated classes, and complains of excessive granting and consequent cheapening of titles and of interference in state affairs by women (no doubt with Malikshāh's ambitious wife Turkān Khātūn in mind). Among these chapters are five on the subject of heretics, which may be later interpolations.¹ One of these recounts the career and death of Mazdak, the arch-heretic of Sāsānian times, in a tendentious but vivid version thought to derive ultimately from a lost romance which was translated into Arabic from Pahlavi by Ibn al-Muqaffa';² there are also accounts of the Khurramites, Qarmaṭians, and other heretical rebels of 'Abbāsīd times. All are seen as forerunners of the contemporary Bāṭinites, i.e. Ismā'īlites—by the hand of one of whose assassins Niẓām al-Mulk was to meet his death. Sociologically, even if not doctrinally, there may well have been some truth in this identification. The *Siyāsatnāmah* shows that the aims of Niẓām al-Mulk's statesmanship were to promote justice, orthodox religion, and the stability and prosperity of the empire; he regards these aims as altogether mutually compatible, but does not conceal his fear that the 'evil eye' may have fallen on the Saljūq régime and that its days may be numbered.

Different in character and purpose is the book of counsel for kings of al-Ghazālī,³ by general consent the most important religious thinker of medieval Islam. The work consists of two parts, of which the first is theological, setting forth and explaining, as do no other books of this kind, what are the beliefs which a pious Muslim ruler ought to hold and the religious principles on which he ought to act. The second part contains a 'Mirror for Princes', with further chapters on *wazīrs*, secretaries, magnanimity in kings, aphorisms of the sages, intelligence, and women. The content of the second part is predominantly ethical and often reflects

¹ Dr. J. A. Boyle has given the information that B. N. Zakhoder, the Russian translator of the *Siyāsatnāmah* (Moscow, 1949), considers these chapters to have been interpolated by Muḥammad Maghribī, the copyist and royal librarian (see p. xiv, n. 1, above).

² A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, Copenhagen, 1944, pp. 68 and 335-6. There was also a verse translation in Arabic by Abān al-Lāḥiqī (d. 200/815).

³ The spelling 'Ghazālī' is used following Montgomery Watt, Bouyges, Bousquet, Goldziher; but see R. A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 339, n. 1, and Brockelmann, *G.A.L.* 1, p. 419. Dr. J. A. Boyle states that in the *Ilāhī-nāmah* of Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (d. 627/1230) the name occurs twice (ed. Rūhānī, pp. 134, 137) and that in both contexts the metre requires 'Ghazzālī'.

the Šūfī attitude to life of which Ghazālī was such an eloquent exponent; but there are also passages of purely practical interest, and passages whose main point appears to be their literary effect. In form the work follows accustomed lines, with precepts enunciated by Ghazālī and exemplifying anecdotes and aphorisms. No less than other writers of 'Mirrors', the theologian Ghazālī views Muslim civilization as a Perso-Islamic synthesis. In *Nasīhat al-Mulūk* he has brought together a treasure-store of Sāsānian and Muslim stories and sayings, many of which are not found in earlier 'Mirrors'. It is unfortunate that this great thinker, who was also a profound scholar of philosophy and highly trained lawyer, should have said nothing here about the nature of the Islamic state or the role of the Caliphate or the Bāṭinite menace; he had, however, written on the two latter subjects in an earlier work (which will be discussed later in this Introduction), and as already mentioned it was not customary to bring law or philosophy into 'Mirrors for Princes'. *Nasīhat al-Mulūk* is nevertheless a work of great interest and value, as an exposition of Perso-Islamic beliefs and ethical concepts, and as a compendium of medieval folklore.

Both the *Qabūs-nāmah* and the *Siyāsat-nāmah* have been translated into English, French, and German. It is hoped that despite shortcomings the present attempt to translate *Nasīhat al-Mulūk* may be of service.

NAŠIḤAT AL-MULŪK: THE PERSIAN AND ARABIC VERSIONS

Leading modern scholars have shown that numerous writings attributed to Ghazālī are spurious, but have not denied that *Nasīhat al-Mulūk* is an authentic work, composed by Ghazālī in Persian and later translated into Arabic.¹ This is attested by outside authorities as well as by statements in manuscripts of the Arabic text.

In many of the Arabic manuscripts the opening passage addresses

¹ Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, Weimar, 1898-1902, I, p. 423, and Suppl., Leiden, 1937-42, I, p. 750; Maurice Bouyges, *Essai de chronologie des œuvres de al-Ghazālī* (posthumous work ed. by Michel Allard), Beirut, 1959, pp. 61-63; W. Montgomery Watt, *The authenticity of the works attributed to Ghazālī*, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1952, pp. 24-45. Among the spurious works which were attributed to Ghazālī is *Sirr al-ālamayn wa kashf mā fi'l-dārayn*, a 'Mirror for Princes' with fanciful biographies and passages about magic and alchemy (Bouyges, op. cit., pp. 132-3; Watt, loc. cit., pp. 34-35).

the work to the Sultān Muḥammad ibn Malikshāh as 'King of the East and West'. This title, first conferred on the Saljūq Sultān Tughril Beg Muḥammad by the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Qā'im, was sought and obtained by successive Great Saljūq rulers as a mark of Caliphal recognition. Although Muḥammad ibn Malikshāh had been proclaimed Sultān in 492/1099 by a faction of troops then warring against his half-brother Barkiyāruq, he acknowledged the latter's suzerainty in 497/1103 and accepted from him the title of 'King' of Northern Mesopotamia and Āzarbāyjan; only after the death of Barkiyāruq in 494/1104 and blinding of Malikshāh II in 499/1105 was Muḥammad generally acknowledged as Great Saljūq ruler. *Nasīhat al-Mulūk* would therefore have been composed at some date between 499/1105 and 505/1111, the year of Ghazālī's death. In the Persian manuscript used by Professor Humā'i, however, the opening passage does not name Muḥammad ibn Malikshāh and addresses the work to the 'King of the East'. This title might mean 'King' of Khurāsān and refer to Muḥammad's full brother and ally Sanjar, whose authority in that province was recognized by Barkiyāruq on the termination of the Saljūq civil war in 497/1103 and by Muḥammad throughout his reign (499/1105-511/1118). Ghazālī states in his Autobiography¹ that he moved to Nishāpūr and resumed public teaching in Dhū'l-Qa'dah 499/July 1106, after receiving strict orders from the 'Sultān of the time', who desired that luke-warmness in religion should be combated. Since Nishāpūr was in Sanjar's province and since the term 'Sultān' was used of provincial as well as Great Saljūq rulers, Ghazālī's reference might be to Sanjar; but the evidence of the Arabic manuscripts and of outside sources points to Muḥammad, and it is possible that at some stage in the transmission of the Persian manuscript a copyist may have overlooked the words 'and West' in the royal title.

Dawlatshāh Samarqandī, in his 'Memoirs of the Poets' written in 892/1487,² reports a confrontation in the presence of Muḥammad ibn Malikshāh between Ghazālī and As'ad Miḥnah, a theologian and a zealot of the Ḥanafite school (to which the Saljūq royal

¹ *Al-munqidh min al-dalāl*, ed. Aḥmad Ghalwash, Cairo, 1371/1956, pp. 48, 49; tr. by W. Montgomery Watt in *The Faith and Practice of Ghazālī*, London, 1953, pp. 75, 76.

² *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā*, ed. E. G. Browne, London/Leiden, 1901 (Persian Historical Texts, I), p. 85. On p. 84, As'ad Miḥnah is mentioned in a quoted ode of Anwarī.

family and most of the 'ulamā' of Khurāsān adhered, while Ghazālī followed the Shāfi'ite school); when asked by As'ad whether he was a Ḥanafite or a Shāfi'ite, Ghazālī replied, 'In matters of reason I belong to the school of proof, and in matters of law to the school of the Qur'ān'.

In a manuscript entitled *Faḍā'il al-Anām* which Fritz Meier found at Istanbul,¹ it is stated that Ghazālī composed *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* at Ṭūs after retiring from his teaching activity at Nishāpūr and after reaching the age of 53 (i.e. after 503/1109-10), and that the occasion was as follows: in a gathering at which the Sulṭān was present, Ghazālī refuted the hostile criticisms of some Ḥanafite 'ulamā', and the Sulṭān bade him write down what he had said; he did so, and the Sulṭān sent him in token of reconciliation a stag which he had shot at a hunt; in return for this gift Ghazālī composed a larger work for the Sulṭān, namely *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk*. If this is true, the Persian *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* must date from Ghazālī's last years (503/1109-10 505/1111), which he spent at his native Ṭūs, living in retirement and practising Ṣūfism but continuing to write and to teach.

Most manuscripts of the Arabic version bear the title *al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Naṣīhat al-Mulūk*, 'the Melted ingot (of gold) on advice to kings';² and certain manuscripts noted by Brockelmann,³ Bouyges,⁴ and Meier⁵ contain statements that the work was written in Persian by Ghazālī and translated into Arabic by 'Alī ibn Mubārak ibn Mawhūb of Irbīl for the 'Atabeg' Alp Qutluḡ Beg Qaymāz al-Zaynī.⁶ This is confirmed by Ibn Khallikān's biographical notice

¹ Fritz Meier, review of Jalāl Humā'i's printed text of *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk*, in *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenlandgesellschaft*, Bd. 93, N.F. Bd. 18, 1939, pp. 395-408. *Faḍā'il al-Anām* and also *Maktūbāt* and *Mukātabāt* are titles of manuscripts containing letters attributed to Ghazālī and added explanatory matter. Bouyges, op. cit., pp. 164, 165, 166, provisionally classes them as authentic in the absence of proof to the contrary. Humā'i, in the Introduction to his printed edition of *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk*, mentions a manuscript at Tehrān entitled *Faḍā'il al-Anām* in which he found evidence suggesting that *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* was composed in 499/1106.

² The translator may have chosen this title bearing in mind the earlier *al-Tibr al-munsabik fī tadbīr al-malik* by a certain Ahwāzī (see above, p. xii, n. 2).

³ G.A.L. 1, p. 423; manuscript at Gotha.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 62, n. 1; Bibliothèque Nationale, manuscript 2429 (Suppl. 551), *Catalogue*, ed. de Slane, p. 426; Utrecht manuscript Or. 38, Leiden, *Handlist*, p. 379.

⁵ Z.D.M.G., 1939, loc. cit. Manuscripts at Istanbul; see below, p. xxi.

⁶ Bouyges, loc. cit., gives the surname in the Paris manuscript as al-Zairī; but see below, p. xxi.

of the translator's uncle, who was called Ibn al-Mustawfi.¹ Ibn Khallikān (608/1211-681/1282), who claimed descent from the Barmakids and was born and brought up at Irbīl but in 626/1228-9 left the city, states that Ibn al-Mustawfi was born in 564/1169 and that his full names were Sharaf al-Dīn Abū'l-Barakāt Mubārak ibn Abī'l-Faṭḥ Aḥmad ibn Mubārak ibn Mawhūb ibn Ghanimah ibn Ghālib al-Lakhmī; he wrote a history of Irbīl and other literary works which Ibn Khallikān admired, and served as *mustawfi* (i.e. finance minister) from before Ibn Khallikān's departure until 629/1232, when he became *wazīr*; in the following year, however, after the virtuous ruler of Irbīl, Muzaḥfar al-Dīn Gökburī, had died without heirs and the Caliph al-Mustansir had occupied the city, he was dismissed; thereafter he lived in retirement at Irbīl until the Mongols took the city in 634/1236, and then at Mosul until his death in 637/1239. Ibn Khallikān also states:

The office of *mustawfi* had been held by his father and by his uncle, Ṣafī al-Dīn Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Mubārak, a man of eminent abilities; it was he who translated the *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* composed by Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī from the Persian language into Arabic, for Ghazālī had composed it only in Persian. I used to hear this in the days when I was in that country; it was well-known among the people.

For some reason,² the Persian *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* virtually went out of circulation, while the Arabic *al-Tibr al-Masbūk* was frequently copied in Mamlūk and Ottoman times. Scholars came to believe that the Persian original was irretrievably lost.³ There were some who thought that Ghazālī had written the Arabic text, perhaps because available manuscripts contained no mention of the translator or of the Persian original, and some who doubted whether the work was Ghazālī's at all,⁴ perhaps because manuscripts bore

¹ *Wafāyāt al-A'yān*, *Bibliographical Dictionary*, Eng. tr. by Baron McGuckin de Slane, Paris, 1842-71, ii, pp. 556-61.

² Perhaps on account of the devastations of cities and libraries in Persia and 'Irāq caused by the Mongols (so Prof. Humā'i conjectures) and also the renewed devastations in Iṣfahān, Baghdād and elsewhere caused by the armies of Timūr (d. 807/1405). Perhaps the archaic and very simple Persian prose style of the original did not please the florid taste of the following centuries, while the more ornate style of the Arabic version was acceptable. Perhaps Persians ceased to pay much attention to works of Sunni theologians such as Ghazālī after Twelver Shī'ism had become the national religion early in the tenth/sixteenth cent.

³ e.g. Ignaz Goldziher in his *Streitschrift des Ghazālī gegen die Bāṭiniyya-Sekte*, Leiden, 1916, p. 98.

⁴ e.g. Jurjī Zaydān and other Egyptian scholars such as Zakī Mubārak;

titles which had been embroidered or altered by scribes,¹ while similar titles were borne by works of other authors.²

Ibn Khallikān's evidence had, however, been confirmed³ by the literary encyclopedist Ḥajjī Khalifah known as Kātib Chelebi (d. 1057/1657), who in his *Kashf al-Zunūn* inserted two entries, not very clearly worded, but evidently showing that he knew of the existence of manuscripts of the Persian as well as the Arabic version. In the first entry headed *al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Naṣā'ih al-Mulūk*, he states:⁴

Persian, by the Imām Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, who died in 505, for the Saljūq Sultān Muḥammad ibn Malik-shāh; then somebody translated it into Arabic. It was translated into Turkish by Muḥammad ibn 'Alī known as 'Ashiq Chelebi and also by 'Alā'ī ibn Muḥibb al-Sharīf al-Shīrāzī-lisān Beg, one of the proteges of Bāyazīd ibn Sultān Sulaymān Khān, who called it *Natījat al-Sulūk*. It has an introduction setting forth Ghazālī's counsels to Muḥammad ibn Malikshāh and two essays and seven chapters. In these translations are many appendices (*ilhāqāt*). It was also translated (into Turkish) by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz known as Wujūdī who died in 1020.

In the second entry Ḥajjī Khalifah states:⁵

It is the Persian *al-Tibr al-Masbūk* by the Imām Abū Ḥāmid ibn

W. R. W. Gardner, *al-Ghazali*, Madras, 1919, p. 110. (Humā'ī, Introduction; Bouyges, op. cit., p. 63, n. 1.)

¹ e.g. *Tuḥfat al-mulūk*, *Sirat al-mulūk* (among the manuscripts found by Meier; see below); *Kharidat al-Sulūk* (Bouyges, op. cit., p. 61, n. 6, quoting Ahlwardt); *Natījat al-Sulūk* (Turkish tr. mentioned by Ḥajjī Khalifah; see below).

² e.g. *al-Tibr al-munsabik fī tadbīr al-malik* by a certain Aḥwāzī (p. xii, n. 2, and p. xviii, n. 2, above); *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* by Māwardī (p. ix, n. 2, above); *Naṣā'ih al-Mulūk* (in Persian) by Qiwām ul-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ḥasan (Ḥajjī Khalifah, Humā'ī); *al-Naṣā'ih al-muḥimmah li'l-mulūk* by Shaykh Ulwān ibn 'Aṭīyah al-Ḥamawī (d. 936/1529) and *Naṣīhat al-Salāṭīn* by Muṣṭafa ibn Aḥmad known as 'Alī al-Daftari (Ḥajjī Khalifah); *al-Tibr al-masbūk fī dhayl al-sulūk* (historical; an appendix to Maqrizī's *Sulūk*) by Shams al-Dīn Abū'l-Khayr Muḥammad al-Sakhawī (Humā'ī).

³ Prof. Humā'ī mentions in his Introduction the following medieval writers who refer to *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* as one of Ghazālī's works: Yāfi'ī (d. 623/1126) in his *Chronicle*, year 505; Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363) in his *Biographical Dictionary*, life of Ghazālī; Faḍl Allāh Ḥusaynī Qazwīnī in his *History of the Ancient Kings of Persia* written for Nuṣrat al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf Shāh, Atabeg of the Great Lurs (r. 695/1296–c. 733/1332; Browne, *Lit. Hist.* iii, p. 68), reign of Kayūmarth; Sayyid Murtaḍa al-Zabīdī (1145/1732–1205/1791) in his *Commentary on Ghazālī's Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, where he also states that 'somebody translated the Persian *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* into Arabic and called it *al-Tibr al-Masbūk*'.

⁴ *Keşf-el-Zunun* (Arabic text), ed. Şerefettin Yaltkaya and Rifat Bilge, İstanbul, 1941–3, i, p. 337.

⁵ Op. cit., ii, p. 1957.

Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, and its [Turkish] translation is *Natījat al-Sulūk*. It was translated into Arabic by Ṣafī al-Dīn Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Irbilī, who died in the year . . . [and was] the uncle of Ibn al-Mustawfī, with no change in the plan of the book as regards arrangement or content. Māwardī [was the author of a book called] *Mu'id al-Ni'am*, and somebody translated it from Persian into Arabic and called it *al-Durr al-Masbūk fī naql Naṣīhat al-Mulūk*; it begins 'Praise be to God for His blessings and favours'; somebody translated it into Turkish.

In 1900 Paul Horn learnt¹ that manuscripts of the Persian original had survived in the libraries of İstanbul, and in 1939 Fritz Meier made investigations and found three Persian manuscripts, two copied in the eighth/fifteenth century and one undated.² He also found six manuscripts of the Arabic version containing the names both of the translator Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Mubārak ibn Mawhūb and of his patron the Atabeg Alp Qutluḡ İnanj Beg Abū Maṣṣūr Qaymāz al-Zaynī, and also containing the original Persian texts of poems which come in the work in addition to Arabic translations of them; among these six manuscripts, five had been copied in the eighth/fifteenth and ninth/sixteenth centuries, two of them for Mamlūk Sultāns of Egypt, and one bore no date. Besides these Dr. Meier found twenty-three Arabic manuscripts with no mention of the translator's or of his patron's names and no Persian poems, possibly representing a later recension;³ several mixed and incomplete Arabic manuscripts; one Arabic and three Persian manuscripts containing only the first, i.e. theological, part, which may have been regarded as a separate work;⁴ and various manuscripts of Turkish translations, including those by Muḥibbī and Wujūdī which Ḥajjī Khalifah mentioned.

The period in which the Arabic translation was made is indicated in a biographical notice of 'Alī ibn Mubārak's patron by Ibn Khallikān.⁵ This gives his names as Abū Maṣṣūr Qaymāz ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Zaynī, and despite the appellation 'Abū Maṣṣūr' states

¹ *Z.D.M.G.*, Bd. 54, 1900, pp. 313–14.

² Aya Sofya 2879, copied in Ṣafar 863 by 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kabīr (title *Sirat al-Mulūk*); Şehid Ali Paşa 1462, ninth cent.; Aya Sofya 2909, no date. Meier in *Z.D.M.G.* 93, 1939, loc. cit.

³ Particulars are given by Meier, loc. cit.

⁴ Bouyges, op. cit., pp. 61–62 n. 7, mentions a Persian manuscript at Cairo consisting of Part I only.

⁵ *Biographical Dictionary*, tr. de Slane, ii, pp. 510 f. Cf. *E.I.* (2), art. *Begteginids* (by Claude Cahen).

that he was a eunuch from Ṭabaristān and a freedman of the ruler of Irbīl, Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Begtegin, who appointed him *atabeg* ('guardian') of his children—hence his surname *al-Zaynī*. Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī, called Kūchik, had risen to power as a general in the service of 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī (d. 541/1146) and governed Irbīl and also Mosul on behalf of the Zangids until his death in 563/1168; in 559/1164, according to Ibn Khallikān, he put Qaymāz in charge of affairs at Irbīl. He had intended that after his death the government of Irbīl should pass to his elder son, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Gökburi; but Qaymāz secured the succession for the younger son, Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf. Gökburi served the Zangids in various roles and fought with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī against the Crusaders; Yūsuf also fought against the Crusaders and was killed at Nazareth in 586/1190, when Gökburi finally succeeded to the government of Irbīl. At Mosul, however, Qaymāz, who had served as governor since 571/1175, was to remain in office until his death in 595/1199, except for a spell in 589/1193 when he was temporarily deposed and imprisoned by a Zangid prince named 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd. Qaymāz was a virtuous and pious ruler, who built a college (*madrāsah*) at Irbīl, rebuilt the mosque at Mosul, and patronized literature and poetry; his secretary was Majd al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr (d. 607/1210), a theologian and Traditionist, brother of the historian 'Izz al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr. Qaymāz must have commissioned the Arabic translation of *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* at some time during his long tenure of office at Irbīl, i.e. during the quarter of a century before 586/1190.

Apart from those at Istanbul, only one other manuscript of the Persian *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* has come to light, namely at Tehran, having been acquired by the distinguished scholar Sayyid 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khalkhālī, who passed it to his friend Jalāl Khān Sanā Humā'ī; from it Professor Humā'ī was able to produce the edition printed by the Majlis Press at Tehran in 1315 solar/1937–1317/1939. Manuscripts of the Arabic *al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, on the other hand, are numerous, with ten conserved at Paris and others at Oxford, Cambridge, Utrecht, Cairo, Tunis, Beirut and elsewhere. Two editions of *al-Tibr al-Masbūk* have been printed at Cairo, one in 1277/1860 on the margins of an edition of Ṭurṭūshī's *Sirāj al-Mulūk*¹ and another in 1317/1900.

Prof. Humā'ī found that Mr. Khalkhālī's Persian manuscript

¹ See Note 2 on p. xii above.

had been copied at a very late date, namely 1267/1850;¹ but the style and vocabulary were such that the work must have been transmitted from a very early period of Persian prose. Unfortunately the text was disordered, with numerous errors and omissions. The History of the Kings of Persia (pp. 47–53 below) was hopelessly corrupt and defective, and certain stories of Anūshīrvān (appearing on pp. 72–73 below) were also very corrupt. In preparing the printed text, Prof. Humā'ī did a laborious and scholarly work of reconstitution. Besides reordering and correcting the manuscript text, he filled gaps where possible by referring to the Arabic edition of 1317/1900 and translating words and passages from it back into an appropriately archaic Persian. This Arabic edition was also full of errors and omissions, but in content was similar to the Persian, apart from some differences in order of items; the History of the Kings was equally corrupt, and the above-mentioned stories of Anūshīrvān were missing. Prof. Humā'ī was not able to reconstitute the History of the Kings and left this and a few other passages as they stood, but filled various gaps by referring to classical Persian and Arabic works containing similar material. In his edition he has enclosed reconstituted words and passages within square brackets and supplied valuable footnotes.

The Oxford Arabic manuscript was examined by Dr. H. D. Isaacs, M.D., of Manchester, who prepared a typewritten transcript with a translation of Part I and a valuable introduction; these he presented to Manchester University as a thesis in 1956. The manuscript (Laud Or. 210) is entitled *Kitāb Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk wa kull Ghani wa Ṣu'lūk*, 'The Book of Counsel for Kings and for every Rich Man and Beggar', and is not dated but forms part of the Laudian collection acquired by the Bodleian Library between 1635 and 1640. Dr. Isaacs found it to be well preserved, though sometimes illegible at the margin or on account of blotches, and rather full of grammatical and auditional errors, the text having evidently been taken down from dictation. He was able to remedy these defects by referring to the Cairo edition of 1277/1860 and by other means. The names of the translator and of his patron did not appear in the opening paragraph of the manuscript, but there were Persian and after them Arabic versions of the poems (which Dr.

¹ The manuscript had been copied at Kirmān by a scribe named Ismā'il ibn Ibrāhīm for 'Abd al-Bāqī Mīrzā, who is thought to have been governor of the province at that time.

Isaacs was not able to reproduce in his typewritten text); the History of the Kings was defective (and not in accord with the corrupt fragments which survive in Prof. Humā'i's Persian text). Aside from this and from the presence or absence of a few items and occasional differences of order, the contents of Dr. Isaacs's Arabic and Prof. Humā'i's Persian texts are substantially identical. 'Alī ibn Mubārak ibn Mawhūb must be deemed to have fulfilled very successfully his intention of 'adhering to the plan (of the work) and rendering it in accordance with its structure and form, without making any change in its content and character'.

INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF AUTHENTICITY

In Part I (p. 25 below) there is a sentence, 'We have mentioned how it may be remedied in the Book of Anger in the Quarter on Destructive Things in the treatise *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*', i.e. Book XXV of Ghazālī's *magnum opus*; and another sentence (p. 33), 'To the description of this lower world we have devoted a treatise', may refer to Book XXVI of *Ihyā'*. In Part II, Chapter I, are several references to maladministration and bribery (pp. 77, 88–89, 93) which seem to reflect anxiety over Saljūq affairs rather than theological predilection in favour of the past and against the present; and in Chapter II (p. 111) praise is given to Nizām al-Mulk¹ in a way suggesting that the great *wazīr* had lived not long ago. On the other hand, Chapter VI ends with a sentence (p. 157), 'Understand, therefore, O brother, how great is the value of intelligence'; since the reader is elsewhere addressed 'O King', and since a theologian would not call a Sultān 'O brother', these words cannot have formed part of Ghazālī's original work; but this evidence does not seem sufficient to condemn the whole chapter as inauthentic.

In a thesis presented to Edinburgh University in 1962, the Rev. Harold Spencer has demonstrated the dependence upon Ghazālī's *Ihyā'* of the first two 'Pillars' of his Persian *Kimīyā-yi Sa'ādat*; and the latter must have been the work mainly used in the compilation of Part I of *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk*. The ten 'roots' of the faith as here expounded (pp. 6–12) closely follow the creed of ten articles found in Section 1 of the first 'Pillar' of *Kimīyā-yi Sa'ādat*; the ten

¹ Dr. Isaacs's text has only 'the Nizām', but in the context this seems to mean Nizām al-Mulk. See note on p. 111.

'branches' (guiding principles for royal conduct) appear to be an elaboration of Section 10 of the second 'Pillar', which is not paralleled in *Ihyā'* where no advice to rulers is given; and many of the sayings and stories illustrating the ten 'branches' and the two 'springs' (knowledge of this world and of the last breath) are found in *Kimīyā-yi Sa'ādat*.

Prof. Humā'i has noted this affinity and expressed the opinion that the Persian style of *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* is such that it can only have been written by the author of *Kimīyā-yi Sa'ādat* and in the fifth/eleventh or early sixth/twelfth century. The language is very simple, even more so than that of the *Siyāsatnāmah* and *Qābūsnāmah*; sentence construction is 'linear', with no clauses inside clauses and with the verb often not at the end of the sentence; nor does the author object to ending successive sentences with the same verb. Archaic Persian words are used, along with Arabic technical terms of Islam as might be expected in a work by a theologian; but some religious items are always expressed in Persian, such as *namāz* (prayer) for *ṣalāt*, and *Ādīnah* (Friday) for *ḡum'ah*. As features of the work, Prof. Humā'i notes: the pleonastic use of *rā* after nouns governed by *barā-yi* and *az bahr-i*; use of infinitives to govern direct objects; frequent placing of predicates before subjects; frequent placing of cardinal numerals after their nouns; and occasional use of the prefix *mī* with subjunctive verbs. Dr. Meier has noted also the frequent use of *farā* and *andar* to make compound verbs. There is none of the verbal ornamentation seen in prose writings of the sixth–seventh/eleventh–twelfth century, such as the *Chahār Maqālah* of Nizāmī 'Arūdī (d. 570/1174) or the *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā'* of Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (d. 627/1230); and rhymed prose is wholly lacking.¹ It is thus evident on linguistic grounds that the text has come down from an earlier period.

The Arabic style of Dr. Isaac's text reflects the evolution of medieval Muslim taste. There is a good deal of verbal adornment, in the forms of redundant synonyms and rhyming or jingling sentences or phrases. Such passages are found mainly in Part II, especially when the subject-matter belongs to *adab* rather than to religious or ethical literature; they are often much longer than the Persian, but otherwise follow it faithfully. Though many of the

¹ Some of the stories and sayings are built around puns and literary effects, but their style is equally simple and archaic. On the anachronism of Arabic puns attributed to Alexander and Anūshīrvān, see below, p. lix.

sayings and anecdotes come from Arabic sources, the simplicity of their Persian and complexity of their Arabic renderings show that in this work the former must have been the originals and the latter translations.

The extreme simplicity of the Persian becomes very pleasing in many of the anecdotes, which gain in effect from conciseness; the stories on p. 66 and p. 93 below are more effectively told here than in the *Siyāsatnāmāh*, where they also appear. The Arabic version, however, is not unpleasant to read, in spite of its diffuseness, as the translator has avoided the excessive artifice and interminable rhymed prose found in some contemporary works.¹

During the transmission of a work such as this, scribes might well have interpolated further anecdotes or aphorisms which they considered apposite; and such accretions might be identifiable through differences of literary style. No such differences, however, were perceptible in either Prof. Humā'ī's Persian or Dr. Isaacs's Arabic texts. In Part II, Chapter VII (pp. 165–6 below), for instance, there is an excursus comparing characters of women and animals; in Prof. Humā'ī's text it is headed *faṣl* ('section'), in Dr. Isaacs's text it is not headed, and in the Cairo edition of 1317/1900 it is missing; its moral tone seems lower than the rest of the chapter, but its style is similar.

In general, the subject-matter is consistent with Ghazālī's ideas as expressed in his other writings. This is discussed later,² after an outline of Ghazālī's life and thought.

THE PRESENT TRANSLATION

To eliminate accretions and establish accurate texts from which a definitive English translation could be made, it would be necessary to collate the Istanbul and Tehran Persian manuscripts and a number of the better Arabic manuscripts. The present translation is provisional, being based upon the Persian text edited by Prof. Humā'ī, of which a copy was available in the Oriental Library of Durham University, and upon the Arabic text edited by Dr. Isaacs and included in his thesis, of which he most kindly lent a copy. Prof. Humā'ī's text has been followed except where it seemed preferable to use passages or words from Dr. Isaacs's text or to incorporate additional items from it. The more significant

¹ e.g. in the *Maqāmāt* of Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122).

² pp. xxxviii–li below.

discrepancies between the two texts are recorded in footnotes. The History of the Kings (pp. 47–53) has been taken from Dr. Isaacs's text supplemented by that of the Cambridge Arabic manuscript Qq. 231. Translations of passages or words which were reconstituted by Prof. Humā'ī are enclosed in square brackets; in general they were found to conform in meaning with the corresponding passages or words in Dr. Isaacs's text. Translations of items taken from Dr. Isaacs's or the Cambridge texts and other added or conjectured words are enclosed in round brackets. Where conjectural readings or translations had to be made, indications are given in the footnotes; e.g. on p. 138, Alexander's saying that 'If actions depend on predestination by God, it is (? not permissible) to reduce effort'. Also noted are points and words of linguistic, theological, historical and general interest, and parallels with items in other works; for many of the notes in Part I gratitude is due to Dr. Isaacs. Prof. Humā'ī's text is designated P. (H.), Dr. Isaacs's text as Ar. (I), the Cairo edition of 1317/1900 used by Prof. Humā'ī as Ar. (H), and the Cambridge text as Ar. (Camb.).

It is hoped that despite the brackets and annotations the translated text will be found easy and pleasant to read. To avoid further encumbrance, particulars of persons appearing in the book are not included in the footnotes but are given in a Biographical Index. For particulars and bibliographies of some of the subjects arising in the book, reference is made in the footnotes to relevant articles in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

THE SALJŪQ PERIOD

Ghazālī's career was much influenced by the affairs of the Saljūqs, under whose régime he lived. They were the ruling family of a Turkoman tribe who had come to Īrān and 'Irāq not only as conquerors but also as champions of Sunnite Islam; in Transoxiana they had embraced Sunnism of the Ḥanafite school, and though continuing to speak Turkish, they had chosen Persian for their language of culture and government.¹ They first came up against

¹ Probably the Saljūqs migrated to Transoxiana and embraced Islam after the conquest of Bukhārā by the Turkish Qarakhānids from the Persian Sāmānids in 389/999. Although the literary revival of Persian began under the Sāmānids, the governmental language of the Sāmānid and Būyid régimes had continued to be Arabic, in which the Secretaries (*dabīrs*) had a strong vested interest. Only under the Turkish régimes, first partially under the Ghaznavids and then under

the Ghaznavids, also ardent Sunnites, from whom they wrested Khurāsān and Rayy through their victory at Dandānqān in 432/1040; and next against the weak and divided Daylamites, who for a hundred years had ruled Western Īrān and Baghdād, and whose princes, the Būyids, were Shī'ites of the Twelver sect. Holding that the rightful Twelfth Imām¹ had been occultated at Sāmarrā in 260/864, the Būyids had been content to acknowledge during his absence the suzerainty of the Sunnite 'Abbāsīd Caliphs; but the position had not been easy. Constitutional harmony was restored when Baghdād fell in 447/1055 to the Saljūq leader Ṭughril Beg Muḥammad, and the Caliph al-Qā'im became the protégé of a Sunnite government. The new position was legalized in 449/1058 when al-Qā'im conferred on Ṭughril the title 'King of the East and West'; but in 450-1/1059 Baghdād was seized by Arslān al-Basāsīrī, a Turkish general formerly in the service of the Būyids, who proclaimed allegiance to the visibly existent Imām of the Ismā'īlite Shī'ah, i.e. the Fātimid anti-Caliph al-Mustanṣir in Cairo. On forty successive Fridays al-Basāsīrī caused the sermons in the mosques of Baghdād to be read in al-Mustanṣir's name, but he received no support from Egypt and was defeated and killed by Ṭughril's troops, who brought al-Qā'im back to Baghdād.

Under Ṭughril's nephew and successor Alp Arslān (r. 455/1063-465/1072) and in the early years of the reign of Alp Arslān's son and successor Malikshāh (r. 465/1072-485/1092), the Saljūq armies kept their zeal and conquered eastern Asia Minor from the Christian Byzantines and Syria and Palestine from the heretical Fātimids. This was also a period of internal peace and improved administration, thanks mainly to the efforts of Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Ishāq, Nizām al-Mulk (409/1018-485/1092), the illustrious *wazīr* of Alp Arslān and Malikshāh. A native of Ṭūs in Khurāsān, he had been brought up as a pious Sunnite of the Shāfi'ite school to which the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs belonged, and he based his policy on the old Persian maxim 'Religion and empire are twins'. He strove to suppress abuses, to introduce reforms, to initiate his still uncultured

the Saljūqs, did Persian supplant Arabic in the chancelleries and in diplomatic correspondence. (B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden, 1952, pp. 245-7.)

¹ i.e. Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Askarī, called *al-Mahdī* and *Ṣāhib al-Zamān*. On the Būyids and their policy, Prof. Claude Cahen has written a very interesting article in *E.I.* (2).

Saljūq masters into the arts of Perso-Islāmic statecraft, and to provide competent and reliable theologians, judges, and secretaries for the state religion and state administration. To this end he founded colleges (*madāris*), called *Nizāmiyah* after him, at Baghdād (459/1067), Nishāpūr, Harāt, Balkh, Marv and Mosul. These colleges also served to propagate the legal system of al-Shāfi'i (d. 204/820) and doctrinal system of al-Ash'arī (d. 324/925), and may have been intended to combat the Ismā'īlite propaganda being put forth by the Fātimids from the Azhar mosque at Cairo. Towards al-Qā'im and his grandson and successor al-Muqtadī (r. 467/1075-487/1094), Nizām ul-Mulk showed the respect due to the head of the Sunnite religious institution. The Caliph's name appeared on the coins and in the Friday sermons, and much value was attached to the Caliphal diploma of investiture as evidence of the régime's legality. From their capital at Iṣfahān, the Saljūqs controlled Baghdād through a garrison commander (*shihnah*) and civil governor ('*amīd*'), but did not interfere in the day-to-day affairs of the Caliphate. Attempts at independent political action by the Caliphs and their officials were, however, resolutely checked.

That Nizām al-Mulk's efforts were not wholly successful, especially in his later years, is apparent from the evidence of malpractices and weaknesses given in his *Siyāsatnāmah*; and no doubt the Ismā'īlites or 'Bāṭinites', against whom he warns so insistently, owed some of their success to popular resentment against current abuses. Their doctrine of the hidden or *bāṭin* meaning of the Qur'ān appealed to both mystical and philosophical opponents of Sunnite formalism, and their doctrine of *ta'lim*, i.e. that God is necessarily just and must therefore provide His worshippers with an Authoritative Teacher to teach them the *bāṭin* and guide them aright, accorded with widely held messianic and legitimist ideas. This living Teacher was the Fātimid al-Mustanṣir (r. 427/1035-487/1094), believed to be descended from Muḥammad through Ismā'il, rightful heir of the sixth Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. In the early part of al-Mustanṣir's long reign Egypt is depicted by Nāṣir Khusraw (d. 480/1088), the Persian poet and propagandist of Ismā'ilism, as having enjoyed wonderful justice and prosperity; but afterwards al-Mustanṣir's fortunes declined, the army took control and the Ismā'īlite Shī'ah split into two factions, the army favouring the succession of al-Mustanṣir's son al-Musta'li, while the devotees

considered another son, al-Nizār, to be his father's originally and irrevocably designated heir. The 'New Propaganda' which swept through Irān was a Nizārite movement led by two men of genius, 'Abd al-Malik ibn al-'Aṭṭāsh and then Ḥasan al-Ṣabbāḥ (d. 518/1124). The latter had returned in 473/1081 from a visit to Egypt and was able in 483/1090 to acquire the old Daylamite fortress of Alamūt from its pro-Shī'ite governor, and there establish his spiritual and military headquarters. Other fortresses, in Quhistān (southern Khurāsān) and Fārs, and the town of Tikrīt on the Tigris, fell into Bāṭinite hands, and not a few officers and officials of the Saljūq régime were openly or secretly won over. After al-Mustansir's death, in Shawāl 487/January 1094, the movement ceased to have any connexion with Egypt. Al-Nizār was imprisoned and put to death at Alexandria in 488/1095, but was held to have transmitted his powers to the leader of the movement in Irān and thus to have been the spiritual father of Ḥasan al-Ṣabbāḥ, who had in fact already assumed the rôle of Authoritative Teacher.

Despite its attractions, Ismā'ilism was not acceptable to most Persian Muslims, because they were unwilling to concede such limitless authority to any living man. In stressing this point in his refutations of the Bāṭinites, Ghazālī voiced the prevailing opinion. The alleged antinomianism of the Bāṭinites, and their secrecy and practice of assassination, were also repellent to the majority.

Meanwhile the authority of the Saljūqs was weakening as their former tribal solidarity gave way to factionalism. This revolved around the ambitions of a woman, Turkān Khātūn. A Qarakhānid princess from Bukhārā, she had married Malikshāh, borne him a son Maḥmūd in 480/1087-8, and won great influence over him; she had also been entrusted with the upbringing of his sister, Mahmalik' (or Muhmalak) Khātūn, who in 480/1087 was married to the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Muqtadī and bore a son, Ja'far. After two years of conjugal discord, however, Mahmalik was brought back with Ja'far to Iṣfahān, where a little later she died, and Turkān Khātūn took charge of Ja'far. Her ambitions were to have Maḥmūd designated as successor to the Sulṭānate and Ja'far as successor to the Caliphate. With the help of her major-domo, Tāj ul-Mulk, she was able to gather together a powerful faction of supporters and infiltrate them into high positions. Against her

¹ Rāwandī, *Rāhat al-Ṣudūr*, G.M.S., N.S., ii, p. 140, says sister; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, x, pp. 106 and 146, says daughter.

stood the Caliph and the *wazīr* Nizām al-Mulk, who despite jealousy excited by his nepotism, still had powerful supporters also. Nizām al-Mulk upheld the designation of Barkiyāruq, son of Malikshāh by his earlier marriage to a Saljūq princess Zubaydah Khātūn, as heir to the throne.

Such was the state of affairs when Nizām al-Mulk was assassinated and Malikshāh died, on Ramaḍān 10/October 14 and Shawāl 16/November 19 of the year 485/1092.¹ Civil war then broke out among the Saljūqs, and expeditions sent by Nizām al-Mulk against the Bāṭinites were called off. Turkān Khātūn came to terms with the Caliph, who agreed to support Maḥmūd's claim to the Sulṭānate in return for her renunciation of Ja'far's claim to the Caliphate; and she later brought into the struggle against Barkiyāruq the army of a Saljūq prince, Barkiyāruq's maternal uncle, by name Malik Ismā'il, whom she promised to marry; but ultimately Barkiyāruq prevailed. Then his paternal uncles Tutush, governor of Syria, and Arslān Arghūn, governor of Khurāsān, rebelled against him, and he was defeated and imprisoned in 487/1094; but when Maḥmūd died of smallpox in 487/1094, Barkiyāruq, who had narrowly escaped disqualification by blinding, was acknowledged as the ruler. Later in the same year Turkān Khātūn and the Caliph al-Muqtadī also died, unexpectedly as both were young; and in the following year Tutush and Arslān Arghūn came to violent ends. Then in 492/1098-9 Barkiyāruq had to face a rebellion by his brothers Muḥammad, who was governing Mosul and Āzarbāijān, and Sanjar, who was governing Khurāsān; eventually, in 497/1103, they came to terms, but a year later Barkiyāruq died, and in 499/1105 his infant son Malikshāh II was disqualified by blinding. Muḥammad, who was called Tapar, then came to the throne with support from most of the factions, leaving Sanjar to govern Khurāsān as viceroy.

¹ Sources agree that Nizām al-Mulk was assassinated by a Bāṭinite. One explanation is that the deed was done in revenge for the execution by the Saljūq authorities of a carpenter of Sāvah near Qum accused of having murdered the local muezzin who had been denouncing Ismā'ilite activities in the town (Ibn al-Athīr, x, p. 108). Rāwandī, p. 135, says that the heretics stabbed Nizām al-Mulk at the instigation of Tāj ul-Mulk; since Tāj al-Mulk was killed four months later by troops loyal to Nizām al-Mulk, the explanation must have been current at the time.

Malikshāh is said to have died at Baghdād of a fever caught on a hunt; but if the purpose of his journey to Baghdād had been to depose Muqtadī or impose the succession of Ja'far, poison might have been the cause.

In all these long civil wars, no high principles were at stake. Participants changed sides as ambition or expediency required, yet were ready to commit all sorts of murders and cruelties. The loss of Jerusalem in 490/1096 to the Fāṭimids, from whom it was captured in 493/1099 by Franks, did not restrain the Saljūqs from their internecine strife. The Bāṭinites gained further influence and captured more strongholds, including the castle of Shāhdiz¹ on the outskirts of Iṣfahān itself.

Muḥammad ibn Malikshāh and Sanjar did what they could to restore the prestige of the Saljūq régime. In Khurāsān, Sanjar (d. 552/1157) was to win a fine reputation, not only for chivalry and patronage of poets, but also for good government. Muḥammad aspired to fulfil the rôle of pious Sunnite ruler, and no doubt would gladly have acted on the advice of the '*ulamā*' and the secretaries; but his reign was largely occupied with fighting. He personally recaptured Shāhdiz, and like Barkiyāruq before him ordered massacres of Bāṭinites. In 'Irāq he defeated and killed a rebel Turkish general, Ayāz, and a refractory Arab vassal, Ṣadaqah, the Mazyadid prince of Ḥillah, who was a Twelver Shī'ite. Finally, in 511/1118, he mobilized a number of armies and sent them under the command of his general Anūshtigīn Shīrgīr to besiege Alamūt; while the siege was in progress, news came that Muḥammad had died at the age of only 37, and Shīrgīr's armies melted away. The struggle against the Bāṭinites was continued intermittently by Sanjar; but under Ḥasan al-Ṣabbah's successors the movement began to lose its proselytizing ardour and popular appeal as it assumed more and more the character of a petty territorial state. Moreover, thanks in part to the work of Ghāzālī, believers whose faith meant more than compliance with the laws and rituals of a state religion were finding another refuge, less objectionable than Ismā'īlism, in the organized mysticism of Ṣūfī fraternities.

GHAZĀLĪ'S LIFE AND WRITINGS

Born in Khurāsān near Tūs in 450/1058-9, Ghazālī lost his father at an early age, but through the care of his guardian received a good education from scholar-theologians at Tūs and Gurgān. In

¹ Ahmad son of 'Abd al-Malik ibn al-'Aṭṭāsh gained control of Shāhdiz in 494/1100 after converting its garrison; Muḥammad ibn Malikshāh recaptured it in 500/1106.

or about 473/1080 he entered the Madrasah Nizāmīyah at Nishāpūr, which had been entrusted by Nizām al-Mulk to the direction of Abū'l-Ma'ālī 'Abd al-Malik al-Juwaynī, the leading Shāfī'ite theologian of the day. Juwaynī was also the chief exponent of the teachings of Ash'arī (d. 324/935), who had combatted the rationalistic interpretations of the Mu'tazilites by using their method of dialectical argumentation in defence of orthodox beliefs; he had consequently been persecuted by Tughril Beg's fanatically Sunnite *wazīr*, the eunuch 'Amid al-Mulk Muḥammad al-Kundurī,¹ who regarded Ash'arites as no less vicious than philosophers and Shī'ites, and had withdrawn to Mecca and Madīnah—whence his appellation Imām al-Ḥaramayn; but after Alp Arslān's accession, he had returned to Nishāpūr, where he remained as director of the Nizāmīyah till his death in 478/1085. Juwaynī was a pillar of the state religion, and also a close associate of the Ṣūfī writer, Abū'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm al-Qushayrī, who in his widely read *Risālah* had sought to reconcile moderate Ṣūfism with Sunnite practice and Ash'arite dogmatics.²

Ghazālī spent five years working under Juwaynī at Nishāpūr, where he also studied with a Ṣūfī teacher named Farmadhī (d. 477/1084-5); after Juwaynī's death, he went to Nizām al-Mulk's camp;³ and in 484/1091 Nizām al-Mulk appointed him to a professorship in the Nizāmīyah at Baghdād. Here his worldly career prospered. Notwithstanding his youth, students flocked to his lectures, and honours were heaped upon him. Of his feelings about the deaths of Nizām al-Mulk and Malikshāh, and about the preceding intrigues and succeeding civil wars, he has left no record, his Autobiography being purely spiritual; but he must have been closely associated with the Caliph al-Muqtadī and with his 16-year-old son and successor al-Mustazhir (r. 487/1094-529/1135). In

¹ Despite his fanaticism, 'Amid al-Mulk belonged to the relatively tolerant Ḥanafite school, which had produced Māturīdī of Samarqand (d. 333/944), a theologian comparable to Ash'arī but higher in moral tone and less rigid in doctrinal questions such as free will. After Tughril's death, 'Amid al-Mulk supported the unsuccessful claim to the throne of Alp Arslān's brother Sulaymān, and was put to death with the approval of Nizām al-Mulk in 457/1065.

² Juwaynī and Qushayrī fled together from Nishāpūr in or shortly before 450/1058 to escape persecution by 'Amid al-Mulk (*Shorter E.I.*, arts. *Qushayrī*, *Djuwaynī*). Qushayrī's *Risālah* has been summarized by R. Hartmann, *al-Kushayris Darstellung des Sufitums*, Berlin, 1914.

³ According to D. B. Macdonald, art. *Ghazzālī* in *Shorter E.I.*, he spent the next years in Nizām al-Mulk's retinue of canonists and theologians; but he may have remained in the Nizāmīyah at Nishāpūr.

Muḥarram 487/February 1094 he took part in the ceremony of administering the oath to the newly acceded al-Mustaẓhir, and in his Autobiography he states that he was commanded by the Caliph to write a book exposing the truth about the doctrines of the Ta'limites (i.e. Bāṭinites), which must have been his *Mustaẓhiri*.¹ Like his master Juwaynī, he became a pillar of the state religion, and at a troubled time in its history.

Besides orthodox law and theology, and Sūfism, Ghazālī studied the ideas of those whom he considered to be the most dangerous opponents of the true faith, namely the Bāṭinites and the philosophers. As an Ash'arite and a trained logician, he regarded 'aql ('intelligence', sometimes translated 'reason') as God's highest gift to man; he was opposed to *naql* ('copying'), whether in its Bāṭinite form of blind obedience to an Authoritative Teacher, or in the form of rigid adherence to custom and precedent (*taqlīd*), as practised by Hanbalites and some other Sunnites. For Ghazālī, as for others of his day, 'intelligence' meant deductive reasoning, from premises given by divine revelation or by common sense; not inductive reasoning, through which new knowledge might be sought. He favoured the use of intelligence in support of religion, as well as for practical purposes, though he thought that religious discussion should not be excessive and that it should only be carried on by qualified persons.² He objected, however, to the attempts of the philosophers to find intellectual proofs of the existence of God and of the reality of prophethood and revelation, and to the attempts of the Bāṭinites to prove the logical necessity of there being an Authoritative Teacher.

In his first years at Baghdād, Ghazālī wrote numerous works on legal and other subjects. In 487/1094–5 and in the early months of 488/1095–6, he recorded the results of his special studies in voluminous writings, which included his *Mustaẓhiri* and other refutations of Bāṭinism, his *Aims of the Philosophers* (*Maqāṣid al-Falāsifah*) and *Self-contradiction of the Philosophers* (*Tahāfut al-Falāsifah*), treatises on logic, and his *Happy Mean* (*al-Iqtisād fī l-I'tiqād*) in dogmatic theology. Though he doubtless received help from colleagues and disciples, this immense burden of writing,

¹ See below, pp. li–lvi. Mustaẓhir was eventually deposed and put to death in 529/1135 by Mas'ūd, a Saljūq ruler in 'Irāq who was a grandson of Muḥammad ibn Malikshāh.

² The Bāṭinites and also the Sūfis likewise reserved higher knowledge or experience for senior initiates.

together with responsibility for teaching 300 students and various official duties, was too great to be borne. He may also have been distressed by political events including Barkiyāruq's victory over Tutush, who had been acknowledged as Sulṭān by the Caliph al-Mustaẓhir and other dignitaries of Baghdād.¹ In Rajab 488/July 1095 he suffered a nervous breakdown and spiritual crisis. Realizing that his best work had been motivated by desire for influence and public recognition, he was assailed by doubts. He became sceptical about everything, not only about reason but also about the evidence of the senses; and for two months he was without religious faith. His tongue failed him, so that he could not lecture, and he feared instant death. After six months, he states, God answered his prayer and sent a light which cured his affliction. This light was the ecstasy and moral change of mystic faith—something which he had previously studied, but evidently had not yet experienced. He resolved to follow the Sūfī path, and after giving away his wealth except enough for his children's and his own subsistence, left Baghdād in Dhū'l-Qa'dah 488/Dec. 1095–Jan. 1096, secretly in the guise of an itinerant *darvish* for fear lest his friends or the Caliph al-Mustaẓhir might restrain him. For two years he lived a retired life in Syria, at Damascus in the great mosque and at Jerusalem and Hebron in the precincts of the Dome of the Rock and of Abraham's tomb, studying and practising spiritual purification as taught by the Sūfis. Then he made the pilgrimage to Mecca, visited Madīnah and returned to Damascus. During these years he worked on his great treatise on the *Revivification of the Sciences of Religion* (*Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*). He had intended never to resume the worldly life, but various concerns, together with the entreaties of his children, impelled him to return. He spent some time teaching at Baghdād, without resuming his official position, and finally reached Ṭūs in or about 493/1099–1100. Here, though still seeking retirement, he gave private lessons and was distracted by cares about his family and his livelihood, and was thus only occasionally able to experience mystic ecstasy. During this sojourn at Ṭūs he must have finished his *Ihyā'* and its Persian analogue *Kimiyā-yi Sa'ādat*, and have written several other of his works, including his *Beginning of Guidance* (*Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*) for novice students, his *Ayyuhā'l-*

¹ D. B. Macdonald, art. *Ghazzālī* in *Shorter E.I.*, associates Ghazālī's flight with this event and notes that his resumption of public teaching followed the death of Barkiyāruq.

Walad (a collection of pious exhortations) originally compiled in Persian, further theological and anti-Bāṭinite essays, and perhaps also his best-known mystic work, the *Niche of Lights* (*Mishkāt al-Anwār*).¹

In Dhū'l-Qa'dah 499/July–August 1106, Ghazālī received an order from the 'Sultān of the time' to resume public teaching at Nishāpūr; he could not disobey, and he also now realized that his clinging to retirement in the hope of preserving himself from worldly contamination had been selfish in motive. The Sultān was probably Sanjar, viceroy of Khurāsān, and the order was delivered by Sanjar's *wazīr*, Fakhr al-Mulk, son of Nizām al-Mulk.² Ghazālī spent some three years teaching in the Nizāmiyah College at Nishāpūr, which was Sanjar's capital. He embodied part of his lectures in his *al-Mustasfā min 'Ilm al-Uṣūl*, a treatise on jurisprudence, and composed other works during these years, including a reply to criticisms of his *Ihyā'*, and his spiritual Autobiography—the *Book of Rescue from Error* (*al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl*), which is also an apology for Ṣūfism. In or about 503/1109–10, he again retired to Tūs, and lived a Ṣūfī life, while continuing to give private lessons and to write, until his death at the age of 53 on 14 Jumādā II 505/18 December 1111. To this period belongs the treatise on *Restraining the Masses from Theological Disputation* (*Iḥām al-'Awāmm 'an 'Ilm al-Kalām*) which is said to be his last work; and if Dr. Meier's evidence is correct, he must have spent many of these last days in compiling his book of *Counsel for Kings*, *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk*.

Ghazālī's writings gave reasoned expression to three trends of opinion then current among Muslims: to the revulsion of the majority against Ismā'ilism, to the popular distrust of neo-Platonic philosophy, and to the prevalent shift towards Ṣūfism. In advocating the Ṣūfī attitude to the faith while rejecting the antinomianism and fantasies of some early Ṣūfis such as al-Hallāj (crucified 309/922), Ghazālī confirmed the work of earlier writers such as Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/998) and Abū'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (376/986–465/1074), who had already done much to make moderate Ṣūfism respectable for orthodox Sunnites.

These trends which Ghazālī helped so much to strengthen ultimately went further than he himself would probably have

¹ Details and dates from Bouyges, op. cit. (cf. note 1 on p. xvi).

² Fakhr al-Mulk was assassinated by a Bāṭinite in 500/1107.

wished. Besides condemning authoritative teaching (*ta'lim*), and inflexible adherence to precedent (*taqlid*), he had advocated use of the intellect (*ijtihād*) in religious and legal matters, at least by qualified persons; but very little *ijtihād* was to be practised in the centuries after him, perhaps in part because intellectualism and mysticism in religion do not ordinarily go well together. Moreover, despite the fantastic extremes into which the Ismā'ilites let themselves be led with their doctrines of the hidden meaning (*bāṭin*) and allegorical interpretation (*ta'wil*), Islamic thought could not be developed much further without some measure of allegorical interpretation.

In his Autobiography¹ Ghazālī tells how he realized during his spiritual crisis that faith can only proceed from the heart, not from the intellect. Religion is thus an emotional commitment of the whole self, and 'knowledge' of God is an intuitive 'tasting' (*dhawq*), different from knowledge acquired through study or ratiocination. This conviction of Ghazālī and the moderate Ṣūfis was compatible with orthodox Sunnite belief and respect for Islamic law, and indeed strengthened both through its call for sincerity; nor was it incompatible with the intellectual pursuit of theological and legal studies. Indeed Ghazālī himself did more than any other writer to reinforce the intellectual content of Sunnite Islam. In the event, however, the Ṣūfī movement during its great upsurge after Ghazālī's time often tended to extreme anti-intellectualism, as expressed in the 'Revelations' (*Futūḥāt*) of Muḥyi' l-Dīn ibn 'Arabī (d. 638/1240) or in the beautiful Persian poems of Ḥāfiẓ (d. c. 793/1390), and on a lower plane in the superstition and miracle-mongering of the *darvish* fraternities.

In the Chapter on Science in his *Ihyā'*, Ghazālī praises jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and theology (*kalām*), provided that unnecessary or acrimonious disputes are avoided; logic, because it contributes to theology; geometry and mathematics, provided that they do not lead to forbidden sciences; and useful natural sciences such as medicine. Study of non-terrestrial bodies, having no practical use, is not praiseworthy but is permissible. Politics and ethics are not mentioned, but are doubtless thought to be comprised under theology and jurisprudence. Forbidden and blameworthy sciences include 'sciences which are beyond human ability', i.e. philosophy; 'for

¹ Tr. W. Montgomery Watt, *The Faith and Practice of Ghazali*, London, 1953, pp. 54–55, 61–62.

only prophets and saints, not philosophers and theologians, can fathom the divine mysteries'.¹ Later generations for the most part accepted these views.² Although Ghazālī himself had objected only to those aspects of metaphysics and ethics which encroached upon revealed religion, 'philosophy' then ranged over much wider fields, and the revulsion against it tended to encompass them all. This and the spread of extreme Sūfism were important factors in the stagnation and decay of Muslim thought in the later Middle Ages; but neither need be blamed upon Ghazālī.

THE TEACHINGS OF NAṢIḤAT AL-MULŪK

Besides imparting traditional Islamic and old Persian counsels, *Naṣiḥat al-Mulūk* express a Sūfī view of life and of politics which seems genuinely Ghazālīan. What matters above all is the inward spiritual life; the ruler must therefore sincerely believe in the true faith and fulfil its prescriptions, sincerely intend to govern justly, and sincerely resist the temptation to love worldly power and wealth, and pleasure, for their own sake. These are the specific themes of Part I, and they are reiterated in Part II also. Inconsistencies are not lacking in the book, but they are not of such importance as to cast doubt on its authenticity; nor is it to be expected that a 'Mirror for Princes' should be wholly and systematically consistent.

Large numbers of books attributable to Ghazālī have been shown to be spurious by reason of their contents.³ *Naṣiḥat al-Mulūk*, however, conforms with the criteria of authenticity set by leading scholars.⁴ It is orthodox, reflecting the doctrines of the later Ash'arite theologians of whom Ghazālī was one; its Sūfism is of

¹ G. H. Bousquet *et al.*, *Vivification des sciences de la foi; Analyse et index*, Algiers, 1955, Book I, chapters 1-4, especially p. 27.

² Philosophy had mostly been pursued under the patronage of princes, but had acquired a certain popular appeal, as shown by the *Rasā'il* (Letters) of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', a literary group at Baṣrah in the second half of the tenth/fourth century which had Ismā'īlite tendencies. After Ghazālī's time, popular interest ceased and royal patronage greatly declined. The retort to Ghazālī's criticisms by the Spanish philosopher Ibn Rushd (Averroes; d. 595/1198) never became known in the Muslim east.

³ W. Montgomery Watt, *The authenticity of the works attributed to Ghazālī*, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1952, pp. 24-25, 34, 35. Bouyges, *op. cit.*, pp. 132, 133.

⁴ Montgomery Watt, *op. cit.*; Bouyges, *op. cit.*; D. B. Macdonald, art. *Ghazālī* in *Shorter E.I.*

the moderate, ascetic school, whose masters are often quoted, not of the pantheist school of Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī (d. 260/874) and Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (crucified 309/922), whose ideas and names receive no mention. There is an intense, indeed morbid, preoccupation with death, such as is found in Ghazālī's works written after his spiritual crisis.¹ The book is arranged in a logical and orderly manner which is also characteristic of Ghazālī,² and it illustrates his ability to write for laymen³ as well as for professional theologians and philosophers. It was Ghazālī's practice in his later writings to use material from his earlier works without referring to them;⁴ and it was a common practice of the age to quote from works of other authors without acknowledgement.⁵

The basic teachings of Part I are that rulership is a gift bestowed, i.e. predestined, by God, and that the ruler will be accountable for it to God on the Judgement Day. This implies that the ruler does not owe his power, and is accordingly not accountable for it, to fellow men (be they subjects, troops, 'ulamā', or indeed Caliphs). His first requirement is correct belief, which is set forth in a creed of ten articles, likened to 'roots of the tree of faith'; this has been taken from Section I of the first 'Pillar' of *Kimiyā-yi Sa'ādat*, and agrees in content with Book II of *Iḥyā*, on the Articles of Faith. In his conduct towards his subjects, he should be guided by ten principles, which are likened to 'branches of the tree of faith' and have also been taken from *Kimiyā-yi Sa'ādat* but rearranged in a more logical order; they are from Section X of the second 'Pillar', where *Kimiyā-yi Sa'ādat* makes a noteworthy deviation from *Iḥyā*, substituting these principles of royal conduct for the account of Muḥammad's personality and miracles given in Book XX of *Iḥyā*. The third 'branch', on the need to overcome pride and anger, contains the already mentioned reference to *Iḥyā* by name.⁶ The sixth 'branch', on the duty of attending to petitions, recommends continuance of a Sāsānian practice which is described with more detail

¹ Macdonald, art. in *Shorter E.I.*; Montgomery Watt, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

² D. B. Macdonald, *The Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Law*, New York, 1903, p. 239; Montgomery Watt, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

³ Macdonald, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-40.

⁴ I. Goldziher, ed., *Streitschrift des Ghazālī gegen die Bātimijja-Sekte*, Leiden, 1916, p. 99, n. 1.

⁵ Cf. (*re* poets) E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, Cambridge, 1928, ii, pp. 68, 538.

⁶ See above, p. xxiv.

in Part II, Chapter I.¹ Although the third 'branch' enjoins consultation with truly devout '*ulamā*', the only mention of the *Shari'at* or Law of Islām here or in the whole book comes in the tenth 'branch', where the ruler is advised never to seek to please any subject in a way which would contravene the *Shari'at*; and there is no mention of the Caliphate here or anywhere else in the book. The rest of Part I is about knowledge of this lower world and knowledge of the last breath, each of which is likened to a 'spring watering the tree of faith'; concerning the former there is a reference to a special treatise by the author, which may well be Book XXVI of *Ihyā*, and the latter appears to be derived from parts of Book XL of *Ihyā*, on Death and the Hereafter. In Book XXVI of *Ihyā*, on the Reproach of this World, Ghazālī besides warning against worldly evils acknowledges the need for economic and governmental activity, concluding that men should strike the happy mean, regarding this world neither as an ordeal only, nor as a joy only, but as a necessary stage on the journey to rejoin God.² Here, however, there is mention only of the world's evils, especially love of wealth and power for their own sake. This wholly negative attitude seems incongruous in a book addressed to a ruler and contrasts not only with *Ihyā* but also with the emphasis laid in Part II, Chapter I, upon the royal duty of making the subjects prosperous, and with the praise given in Part II, Chapter IV, to the most extravagant royal munificence. The anecdotes in Part I are all Islamic, though one of them tells how a Muslim Caliph was advised to follow the example of a king of China.

In Part II, Chapter I, on qualities required in Kings, the most striking feature is the importance given to examples and practices of the Sāsānid kings. Although Muslim rulers are cited no less frequently, they appear to follow in the footsteps of their great Persian forerunners Ardashīr and Anūshīrvān. The chapter begins by reiterating that kings are appointed by God, who sends them to protect men from one another just as He sent prophets to guide

¹ Originally a Persian institution, but early adopted by the Muslims, justice being a common ideal of both civilizations. The royal prerogative of *al-naẓar fī l-maẓālīm* (examining and deciding petitions for the redress of grievances) usually had to be delegated to *wazīrs* and officials on account of pressure of other business; it formed an important field of jurisdiction beyond (but not necessarily incompatible with) the *Shari'at*. See also below, p. xlii. Cf. Nizām al-Mulk, *Siyāsatnāmah*, chap. iii; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, Copenhagen, 1944, pp. 282-3, 397-8; R. Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*, Cambridge, 1957, p. 263.

² G.-H. Bousquet *et al.*, op. cit., pp. 250-64.

men aright. Besides confirmatory verses from the Qur'ān, a well-known saying from the Ḥadīth is quoted, namely that the Sulṭān is 'God's shadow on earth'; and the 'divine shadow' is here assimilated to the 'divine effulgence', a Persian concept of a manifestation of the sacred element of fire or light in the person of the rightful ruler, which had evidently endured from Sāsānian times but without its original Zoroastrian implications.¹ Other men must therefore love and obey the king, who for his part must rule them justly. The king's accountability to God for his conduct, which formed the theme of Part I, is not reiterated here, but it is stated on the authority of a saying ascribed to Muḥammad that unjust rule does not last long. The 'Magians' ruled well nigh four thousand years because (in the main) they upheld justice and thereby developed the world and made the subjects prosperous. Here follows the already mentioned 'History of the Kings'² of the Persians, with characters of each, from Adam to Yazdgard III (pp. 47-53). Their rule only ceased when God, having blessed mankind by sending Muḥammad, decreed that the sovereignty should pass to the Muslims in the reign of 'Umar. Their names and reputations, however, still endure in people's memories. A man, and especially a ruler, should practise virtue and justice in order that he may likewise leave behind a good name which will endure—and also, it is added, in order that he may have few enemies to testify against him on the Judgement Day. No king has left behind so good a name as Anūshīrvān; Muḥammad was proud to have been born in the reign of Anūshīrvān the Just.

These arguments, different from the teachings of Part I but not inconsistent with them, justify the use of Sāsānian examples along with Muslim examples in the rest of the book. They also justify the pride of the Persians in their past history and in their great contribution to the civilization of Islam.

Royal justice, on which depends the prosperity of the subjects, is the most important theme of the chapter; but it is not adequately defined. In general it appears to mean conscientious rule. On p. 56 injustice is divided into two categories: that which Sulṭāns do to subjects, strong men to weak, and rich men to poor; and that which

¹ Christensen, op. cit., pp. 31, 146, 508. This concept must have been an element in the Shī'ite veneration of the Imāms descended from 'Alī, Muḥammad's nearest relative, by his wife Fāṭimah, Muḥammad's daughter, and from 'Alī's son Husayn by his wife Shahrbānū, reputedly daughter of Yazdgard III, the last Persian king.

² Cf. above, pp. xxiii and xxiv.

men do to themselves, namely sin. Two stories are told showing that God (presumably often, not always) inflicts punishment in this world upon perpetrators of injustice. At the same time God accepts penitence and rewards kindness. The one unforgivable sin is *shirk*—putting other beings or things on a par with God. The quality most needed by kings is therefore correct religion; according to a well-known saying (of Sāsānian origin), 'religion and empire are brothers'. The king's duties are seen as primarily religious; he must personally avoid religious eccentricity and punish or banish recalcitrant heretics (no doubt Bāṭinites in particular are meant), defend the territories of Islam, uphold the *Sunnat* (the body of custom ascribed to Muḥammad and recorded in the *Ḥadīth* which forms the main source of Islamic law), and supervise the subjects of all ranks, rewarding good-doers and punishing evil-doers. He must always strive to set a good example, because the character of the subjects depends on the character of the king, whom the subjects copy. In his task of suppressing misbelief and misconduct, he must never show weakness, which is even worse than injustice. He must not, however, be conceited because he is king, such conceit being the worst of all royal faults (unfortunately no examples are given). He must discipline himself and his officials and show an ascetic devotion to duty like that of the two 'Umars, who never spent a penny from the Public Funds on their private needs.

On p. 69 justice is defined in subjective terms as impartiality in judging claims and disputes, irrespective of the rank of the contestants. There is no discussion of objective criteria by which just decisions might be reached. It is stated, however, that if a claim is lodged against the king himself, he must submit to God's jurisdiction and accept the verdict; presumably the case would be tried by a *qāḍī* (Islamic judge) and decided in accordance with the *Shari'at*. The similar practice of the Sāsānid kings is described later in the chapter. The king must also, as enjoined by the Qur'ān, temper justice with mercy and not demand gratitude for it. He must ensure that his officials perform their duties in like manner, justly and compassionately. This advice carries with it legal problems, which are not discussed. According to Islamic law, *qāḍīs* are appointed by the ruler but are then irremovable and responsible only to God for their verdicts, against which there is no appeal; it is therefore not within the ruler's competence to ensure that they judge justly. Here probably royal officials such as governors,

military leaders, and in particular revenue officers, are meant. Taxation was in fact based upon long-established custom, not upon the *Shari'at*; and in Book XIV of *Ihyā'*, on the Licit and Illicit, Ghazālī declares that almost all revenues collected by contemporary princes are illicit because uncanonical, and that pious Muslims should accordingly refuse payments from princes and avoid contact with them. This problem is not raised in *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk*.

The 'divine effulgence', or as the Arabic version has it, the 'divine shadow', is discussed on pp. 73–74. Aristotle is quoted as having described it as one of the prerequisites of kings; and in a typically Persian *Zahlenspruch* (which may, however, be derived ultimately from Plato) it is said to consist of sixteen intellectual, moral, physical and other qualities; one of these is attention to the examples of earlier Muslim and other kings.

Besides justice, another recurring theme is the need for security. The contemporary age is described in scathing terms (p. 77), which seem to represent more than the normal tendency of religious and especially Muslim thinkers to picture the present as evil and the early days of the faith as ideal. No doubt the Bāṭinite risings and Saljūq civil wars provoked this sweeping indictment. To establish security, the Sultān must ruthlessly enforce discipline and inspire awe; for insecurity is even worse than injustice. Earlier in the chapter it was said that royal weakness is worse than royal injustice. Examples are quoted from Muslim history showing how God sent efficient even if tyrannical governors to restore order out of anarchy. This contention that royal absolutism is justified by the paramount need for security came to be generally accepted in the later medieval Muslim world;¹ it was to be used in seventeenth-century England by Thomas Hobbes. It conforms with the quietistic Ṣūfī viewpoint

¹ It was expressly stated by the Egyptian Shāfi'ite jurist Badr al-Dīn ibn al-Jamā'ah (639/1241–733/1333). His contemporary and enemy, the Ḥanbalite Ibn Taymiyah of Damascus (d. 728/1328), held that the *de facto* ruler should be obeyed, such a ruler being needed to enforce the *Shari'at*, but that the Muslim's duty of obeying the *Shari'at* was nevertheless paramount. Cf. E. I. J. Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam*, Cambridge, 1958, pp. 43–61. Prof. A. K. S. Lambton, *The theory of kingship in the Naṣīhat al-Mulūk of Ghazālī*, in *Islamic Quarterly*, vol. 1, London, 1954, pp. 47–55, mentions a Ṣūfī writer, 'Alī ibn Shihāb al-Hamadānī (d. 786/1385), who in a work entitled *Dhākirat al-Mulūk* declared that the ruler who is unjust and does not enforce the *Shari'at* is not the 'Shadow of God on earth' but the vice-regent of Satan; presumably such a ruler should not be obeyed. In general, however, Ghazālī's view, which is also expressed in some of his other writings (see below, pp. li–lii), was to prevail during the following centuries.

that the good Muslim's aim should be to perfect his inner spiritual life, and that he should resign himself to whatever destiny God has foreordained for him in the political as in other spheres of worldly life. It contrasts with the opinion of Māwardī and earlier Sunnite constitutional theorists that the ruler assumes contractual obligations towards the Muslim community and may therefore in the last resort be disobeyed if he does not fulfil them.¹

The rest of the chapter contains more detailed and practical maxims together with reiterations of the general counsels already given. Most of the examples are Sāsānian, though many of the recommended practices endured in Muslim times; some of them, however, such as holding audience for the redress of grievances and keeping check upon officials and ambassadors, had probably been neglected by the Saljūq Sultāns. On p. 93 there is a complaint of bribery being prevalent in the administration of justice as a result of slackness and negligence by the Sultān. On p. 88, à propos of precautions against the risk of the ruler's being assassinated, the wickedness of the age is again denounced, no doubt with special reference to the Bāṭinites. The ruler's personal responsibility for extortion by his revenue officials, which was apparently very bad in Saljūq times,² is further emphasized; but there is no complaint that the taxation system as such is uncanonical.

There are several enumerations of moral and intellectual qualities required in kings, including one attributed to Plato and another attributed to Socrates (p. 91). One of these qualities (p. 85) is determination to avoid drunkenness, which is a form of madness; whether this means the intoxication of royal conceit, or intoxication by real wine, is not quite clear from the texts. The royal institutions of the convivial evening and of the boon companion (*nadīm*), which flourished in Muslim no less than in Sāsānian times, are taken for granted in *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk*, as also in the *Siyāsatnāmah* and *Qābūs-nāmah*, despite the Qur'ānic prohibition of wine. Qualities required in royal companions are also discussed, and one of these is that they should be noble-born; for men of noble birth, according to a celebrated Ṣūfī saint, 'show affection for the people, even though they do not practise piety' (pp. 85–86). This thoroughly Persian, but rather un-Islamic,³ predilection for noble birth re-

¹ See below, pp. liii–liv.

² See above, pp. xxvii–xxxii.

³ Cf. Qur'an, xlix, 13: 'The noblest among you in God's sight are the most pious.' 'Alids and Qurayshites nevertheless enjoyed immense aristocratic

appears in Chapter IV. A short section (pp. 86–87) gives advice, not to rulers, but to men who serve them, and leaves no doubt that in the author's mind kings were ordinarily despotic and bloodthirsty masters whose service was something to be avoided! In general, however, the detailed maxims embody the two basic principles of the need for royal justice and the need for royal vigilance. Impartial justice is further exemplified in a story with an authentically Ghazālīan note of sincerity, telling how the most celebrated of all *qādis* awarded redress to a Magian against the most celebrated of all *wazirs* solely on the strength of the Magian's sworn declaration (which coming from a non-Muslim would in strict Islamic law be invalid against a Muslim's testimony). The chapter ends by reiterating that obedience to the king is a religious duty incumbent on the subjects and that just rule is a religious duty incumbent on the king.

Chapters II and III describe qualities required in *wazirs* and secretaries, who were the pillars of the civilian bureaucracy in medieval Muslim states. Unfortunately there is no corresponding chapter about the armed forces, on whose efficiency and loyalty the position of Muslim rulers always depended.

In view of controversies about the origin of the *wazīrate*, which evidently goes back to early 'Abbāsīd times, it is interesting to note what this book of the early sixth/twelfth century has to say. The need for a *wazīr* is attested by one of the Qur'ānic sentences (xx. 30–33) in which the word occurs,¹ and by the sentence 'Consult them on the matter' (iii. 153), thought to have been sent down after the reverse at Uhūd and apparently referring to the Prophet's

prestige. Here, however, the aristocracy of military, bureaucratic and landowning families must be meant, as also in Chapter IV, where the noble Barmakids are praised.

¹ This is the explanation generally given by Muslim authors; e.g. Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sultāniyah*, tr. E. Fagnan, *Les status gouvernementaux*, Algiers, 1915, chapter ii, *Le vizirat*, pp. 41–57. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, pp. 113–16, and Browne, *Lit. Hist.* i, pp. 255–6, consider the *wazīrate* to be of Sāsānian origin; but if so, history would surely have recorded the names of *wazirs* of the later Sāsānid kings. S. D. Goitein, *The origin of the wazīrate and its true character*, in *Islamic Culture*, iv, 1942, pp. 255–63 and 380–393, and D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat 'abbāsīde*, Damascus, 1959, i. 41–61, refute the theory of Sāsānian origin. The *wazīrate* came into being under the 'Abbāsīds, who claimed to rule by divine right and had no peers but only servants. The Umayyads used to take counsel with their peers among the Arab noblemen, and their *hājibs* had in principle been only chamberlains, even if in fact they may have begun to exercise ministerial functions.

senior Companions and officers; modern Muslim writers, especially in Pākistān, cite it as evidence that Islam enjoins parliamentary democracy. On the other hand, the maxims quoted are almost all Sāsānian, and in the Persian text the Persian term *dastūr*¹ is used more frequently than the Arabic term *wazīr*. Among desirable qualities in *wazīrs*, much importance is given to skill in diplomacy and in avoiding war; Anūshīrvān is quoted as having said that the worst *wazīr* is one who whets the king's appetite for war. There is no mention of the religious duty of *jihād* (holy war), which Ghāzālī sometimes interpreted in a spiritual sense.² The *wazīr* should take care, however, to look after the troops; for many *wazīrs* were killed by troops in the days of old! He also has the perilous task of tactfully redirecting the king if ever the king errs or shows signs of that disastrous failing, royal conceit. The chapter contains words of praise for the celebrated Barmakid *wazīrs* and the great Nizām al-Mulk, and ends by asserting that it is the duty of kings, *wazīrs* and officials to work for the welfare of the subjects; in particular, they must levy taxes only in due season and in the measure of the subjects' ability to pay, as had been the custom in ancient (i.e. Sāsānian) times.

The necessity for secretaries is similarly attested by Qur'ānic and Traditional sentences, and a king of Greece is made to say that the world is ruled by the sword and the pen but the pen is superior. In historical fact, military upheavals seldom disturbed the position of the secretaries, who formed a more or less close corporation and continued, under Sāsānid kings, Arab Caliphs, Persian princes and Turkish Sultāns alike, to perform the indispensable tasks of recording tax assessments and revenues and composing official correspondence.³ Much of the chapter consists of interesting tech-

¹ See below, p. lxiv.

² e.g. *Iḥyā'*, Book XXII, section viii: 'The great *jihād* is the war which a man wages against himself'; Book XXXVII, chapter i, section iii: 'A man can wage Holy War without quitting his own home' (*Hadīths*).

³ Cf. Christensen, op. cit., pp. 132-6; B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden, 1952, pp. 341-2. The Secretaries had used Pahlavi in 'Irāq and Irān and Greek in Syria and Egypt until the *naql al-diwān*, i.e. change to Arabic, was carried out c. A.D. 700 by the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik and his viceroy Ḥajjāj: in Khurāsān and Transoxiana some forty years later (Spuler, op. cit., p. 244). 'Abd al-Ḥamid ibn Yaḥya al-Kātib (q.v. in *E.I.* (2)), secretary to the Caliph Marwān II and founder of Arabic epistolary style, followed mainly Pahlavi but partly Greek models. Ibn al-Muqaffa', a Persian and a secretary, founded Arabic *belles lettres* (*adab*) on Pahlavi models. The secretaries jealously guarded their near-monopoly of Arabic, even under Persian dynasties such as the Sāmānids,

nicalities of the art of the pen, and the examples given are all Muslim. On p. 114, however, there is a list of secretarial qualifications ascribed to the ancient (presumably Sāsānian) sages and kings; most of these relate, not to penmanship, but to agriculture, probably in connexion with tax assessments. Skill in versification is also included. Nowhere in the chapter, however, is there any call for rhetorical ingenuity and subtlety in argumentation, on which the secretary Nizāmī 'Arūḍī (d. 570/1174) lays so much stress.¹ The call here is for accuracy, lucidity and brevity. Unfortunately tastes were soon to change.

Chapter IV, on Magnanimity in Kings, begins impressively with a definition of magnanimity, or high-mindedness, as courage and self-respect derived from self-restraint and self-knowledge—a concept perhaps Greek in origin. The high-minded man, it is said, restrains himself from unworthy deeds and from mixing with ignoble persons; but it is also stated that courage and magnanimity are innate in kings and noblemen and not readily acquired by others. Here again appears the Persian predilection for noble birth. Belying expectations, the anecdotes exemplify magnanimity mainly in terms of financial generosity, and insist that on the part of kings such generosity should be on a most lavish scale. Since the where-withal for such extravagance must presumably come from the state treasury, this advice seems inconsistent with the praise given in Part I to the conscientious stewardship of 'Umar I and 'Umar II, who never spent money from the Public Funds improperly. These anecdotes make good reading; a few of them are Sāsānian, but most are Muslim, including four about the renowned generosity of the Barmakids. One of these makes the point that magnanimity in men of noble birth and meanness in men of low birth are innate and ineradicable, and another that magnanimity pays in the long run. The chapter ends with a gentle warning against magnanimity unaccompanied by adequate means.

until forced to admit Persian by Turkish rulers such as the Saljūqs who knew no Arabic. The Persian secretaries quickly abandoned Zoroastrianism after the 'Abbāsīd advent and became for the most part staunch upholders of Sunnite Islam; in Egypt many secretaries remained Christian, and in Spain Jews were employed. Occasional Christian functionaries in the East are mentioned; e.g. Abū Shujā' Amīn al-Dawlah, *wazīr* to the Caliph al-Muqtadī, who at a late stage in his career embraced Islam for political reasons (Spuler, op. cit., p. 211, n. 3).

¹ In the introduction to his first *Maqālah* (*Discourse*), on the Art of the Secretary.

Chapter V consists of Aphorisms of the Sages, many of whom are unnamed. Among those named are Šūfī saints and other Muslim figures; the Qur'ānic Luqmān; the Sāsānid king Ardashīr, and the sages Buzurgmihr and Yūnān whose identities are considered later in this Introduction, in the section on Sources; Alexander the Great; Aristotle and Socrates; and Galen and Hippocrates. Despite this variety of attributed sources, the aphorisms are remarkably uniform, being mostly *Zahlensprüche*, enumerations of desirable or undesirable qualities or actions. The *Zahlenspruch* is a feature of *adab* literature and especially of the writings of Ibn al-Muqaffa', by whom the taste was passed on from Sāsānian and perhaps ultimately Babylonian times;¹ it has mnemonic value and is a good vehicle for the neat phrase and witty juxtaposition, even if not for logical thought. Sayings of sages, usually unnamed except for Luqmān, also appear, along with sayings of Muḥammad and his Companions and of earlier prophets and Šūfī saints, in religious works such as Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*. The present collection of aphorisms, some impressive, some witty, and some trite, is not arranged in any systematic order and imparts counsels on a wide range of subjects—ethical, practical and medical. Wisdom, knowledge and humility are praised, and greed and miserliness are condemned; the viewpoint is preponderantly ascetic, but sometimes more akin to that expressed by Sa'dī: 'Property is for the comfort of life, not for the accumulation of wealth.'

Chapter VI, on Intelligence, deals very superficially with its subject. Sentences from the *Ḥadīth* and a Qur'ānic verse (v. 100) addressed to 'possessors of brains' are adduced as evidence of the religious merit of 'intelligence' (by which term the Persian *khirad* and Arabic *'aql* have been translated), and the origins of the Persian and Arabic words are explained by punning etymologies. Intelligence is stated to be the source of virtues such as modesty and courage; it leads to knowledge, whereas knowledge of itself does not lead to intelligence; it is God's highest gift to man; it is the beginning, middle and end of faith, and the intelligent man is the nearest of men to God. Why this should be so is not explained. In the subsequent aphorisms and anecdotes intelligence often seems to mean little more than shrewdness and tact, or at most ability to draw inferences; a *Zahlenspruch* is quoted to the effect that it consists of ability to correlate twenty-five opposites.

¹ See below, pp. lix ff. and p. lxix.

The chapter ends, as already mentioned, with a sentence addressed, not to the Sultān, but 'O brother!'. This and the weak content of the chapter raise the question whether it is authentic; but neither ground seems sufficiently strong to justify condemning it as spurious. A 'Mirror for Princes' would not have been expected to touch upon problems such as the validity of *'aql* and *naql* (use of the intellect and copying of precedent) in theology and jurisprudence, nor the question whether philosophy and science undermine or support religion. Nevertheless some reference might well have been made to Ghazālī's strongly held opinion that while faith based upon intellect (*'aql*) is shakeable, faith based upon intuition (*dhawq*) is unshakeable.¹

The seventh and last chapter, on Women, does not form a consistent whole, but in some places expresses a high-minded and benevolent viewpoint, worthy of Ghazālī. In general, though not always, religious faith in women appears to be valued no less highly than religious faith in men; and while divorce and polygamy are, of course, recognized as 'disabilities' of women, some of the passages and anecdotes seem to imply a concept of marriage as a happy and lasting, and perhaps ideally monogamous, partnership. A wife ought to be chosen for her piety, and also for her sincere intention to bear and rear children, but not for beauty, wealth or nobility of birth. Pious domesticity in women is described as no less pleasing to God than religious scholarship or holy war in men; and an anecdote tells how a man of the Children of Israel acted upon his pious wife's advice in a way which pleased God and was rewarded in this world and the next.

On the other hand, a number of passages and sayings, including several attributed to 'Umar, express a very disparaging, and more typically medieval Muslim, attitude towards women. Conspicuous among these is the already mentioned long and presumably genuine excursus² comparing characters of women to characters of animals, all of them vicious except the sheep; curiously enough, the cow is not mentioned. At the same time, men are advised to make just allowance for the numerous physical and legal disabilities with which God (according to the pernicious myth related in the Qur'ān, vii. 18 ff., as well as in Genesis) has punished women because Eve ate forbidden food. While husbands are advised to be jealous, and are told that the greater their jealousy the greater will be their

¹ See above, p. xxxvii.

² See above, p. xxvi.

religious merit, due praise is given to wives who resist immoral approaches; and it is emphasized that seeing strangers of the opposite sex exposes men just as much as women to risks of temptation and is therefore forbidden equally to both. A charming anecdote shows how God (presumably sometimes, not always) inflicts retributive punishment in the present life upon husbands who err in this respect. Precaution against risks of temptation is given as the practical ground justifying insistence upon veiling and seclusion of women, which had long been customary among townsfolk but possibly were not practised by the then ruling Saljūq Turks. (There is no evidence that veiling had been practised in Sāsānian or early Arab times.) Theological justification for the custom is obtained from sayings out of the *Hadīth*, and also, as in other Muslim writings, from the Qur'ānic injunction (xxxiii. 53) 'Ask them from behind a curtain', which in its context seems to refer only to Muḥammad's wives.¹

Advice is tendered to wives as well as to husbands. They should be contented, obedient, tactful and good at housekeeping, and should seek to lead ascetic lives on the model of the Prophet's daughter Fāṭimah, who is depicted as the paragon of virtuous womanhood. For their part husbands should be affectionate and tolerant to wives, bearing in mind the disabilities of women and the fact that they are prisoners in the hands of men. [According to a *Hadīth*, Muḥammad said that 'women are deficient in their intellects and in their religion'; men should therefore treat them compassionately, but never act on their advice. This warning contradicts the earlier anecdote about the man of the Children of Israel who pleased God by acting on his pious wife's advice. The point is exemplified in a purportedly but perhaps not authentically Sāsānian anecdote, which is the only item not specifically Muslim in the whole chapter. The *Siyāsatnāmah*, which has nothing good to say about women, goes further and quotes Muḥammad as having advised: 'Consult them and do the opposite.' Perhaps in both books

¹ Other verses enjoining seclusion or the veil appear likewise to refer only to Muḥammad's wives, while Q. xxiv. 30-31, enjoining modesty in dress, appears to exclude veiling of the face and hands. R. Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*, pp. 124-6, thinks that Quraysh women but not Bedouin women were generally veiled in Muḥammad's time, and that '*ulamā*' in later times thought it proper for Muslim men and women to follow the *sunnah* (practice) of the Prophet and his wives in this respect. Prof. Levy says that in Persia women had long been secluded, but cites no evidence for this assertion. Two queens, Pūrāndukht and Āzarmidukht, were placed on the Sāsānid throne (see table on p. 52).

there is an implied reference to the unfortunate rôle played in Saljūq affairs by women such as Turkān Khātūn.

The chapter ends by stressing that the prosperity and peopling of the world depend on women, and that the choice of a wife or gift of a daughter in marriage is therefore a matter requiring great prudence. The last sentence and the concluding poem, however, strike a discordant note; for they assert that 'all' the world's misfortunes are due to women!

In general, Part II of *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* appears to be compatible with Part I, which is unquestionably Ghazālīan. The inconsistencies which have been noted are relatively few. Although interpolation cannot be ruled out, the probable explanation in most cases is that Ghazālī was not a wholly consistent thinker. In writing a 'Mirror for Princes' he followed the traditions of the genre; he found justification for its upholding of Sāsānian models in the theory of divine predestination, and for its absolutist monarchical tendency in the quietism and spiritualism of the Sūfis.

GHAZĀLĪ'S VIEWS ON THE CALIPHATE

Similar political views appear in other writings of Ghazālī, along with more legalistic expositions in which importance is attached to the Caliphate. In *Ihyā*, Book XIV, on the Licit and Illicit, chapters v and vi,¹ Ghazālī declares that the public interest requires obedience to rulers who dispose of military power, however unjust they may be, because resistance would cause civil war and even greater injury to the community; but he also states that pious Muslims, while entitled to use their own discretion, should beware of accepting payments or presents from princes, and even of visiting or keeping company with them, because most revenues collected by contemporary rulers—including, in his opinion, the land-tax (*kharāj*)²—are unauthorized by the *Shari'at*. In *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk*

¹ G.-H. Bousquet *et al.*, op. cit., pp. 146-51.

² Ibid., p. 146, where Ghazālī asserts that the only tax which may be legally levied on Muslims is the alms-tax (*sadaqāt* or *zakāt*). According to Māwardī, this was the view of Shāfi'i, but Abū Ḥanīfah held that *kharāj* may continue to be levied in respect of lands whose occupants have become Muslim (*al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyah*, tr. E. Fagnan, Algiers, 1915, p. 310). Māwardī propounds elaborate theories of land taxation, property rights, feudal grants, &c. (chapters xiii, xiv, xvii); he states that it was Anūshīrvān who established the *kharāj* of 'Irāq and that 'Umar followed Anūshīrvān's system (pp. 312-13).

the Sulṭān is advised to consult and frequent pious 'ulamā' constantly, but to collect taxes in the same manner as the ancient (i.e. Sāsānid) kings. In the *Mustaẓhiri* Ghazālī quotes a saying to the effect that the Muslims did not elevate the Hāshimites and Umayyads in order to bow down to them and worship them, but that having appointed them to be the rulers the Muslims obeyed and followed them, because obedience (to the ruler) is (a form of) worship of God.¹ In *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*, this duty of obedience is justified solely by the arguments of divine predestination and of the need for security, perhaps because Sulṭāns (unlike Caliphs) obviously could not be considered to have been in any way appointed by the Muslim community. Ghazālī had, however, sought in his *Mustaẓhiri* and elsewhere to justify the position of *de facto* rulers by representing them as authorized executors of Caliphal functions; and even though a 'Mirror for Princes' cannot be expected to contain legal discussion, it nevertheless seems remarkable that *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* should not give to the Sulṭān a single word of advice to respect and honour the Caliph. The *Siyāsatnāmah* has a long story in chapter iii showing how the Ṣaffārid amīr Ya'qūb ibn Layth came to a bad end when he rebelled against the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Mu'tamid, and a pertinent warning in chapter xliii to the 'Master of the World' (i.e. to the Sulṭān Malikshāh) against persons trying to persuade him to overthrow the house of the 'Abbāsīds. It may be that similar advice was omitted from *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* because there could be no shadow of doubt concerning the loyalty to the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate and to Sunnism of the particular Sulṭān to whom the work is addressed, namely Muḥammad Tapar or perhaps Sanjar.

An outline of Ghazālī's views on the Caliphate as expressed in the *Mustaẓhiri* and a comparison between his and Māwardī's views may be apposite here.² The subject is also discussed in *Iḥyā*, Book II, on the Articles of the Faith, section iii, and in *al-Iqtīṣād fī'l-I'tiqād*, chapter iii. As mentioned above,³ Ghazālī wrote the *Mustaẓhiri* shortly before his spiritual crisis in order to demonstrate the legitimacy of the Caliphate or Imāmate of al-Mustaẓhir, who in Muḥarram 487/February 1094 had succeeded to the 'Abbāsīd

¹ I. Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Ghazālī gegen die Bāṭinijja-Sekte*, Leiden, 1916; selections from text, p. 81; analysis, p. 95.

² For comprehensive treatment of the subject: E. I. J. Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam*, Cambridge, 1958, chapter ii; R. Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*, Cambridge, 1957, chapter vii.

³ See above, p. 34.

throne at the age of only 16 (the Muslim age of majority being 18), just when the Bāṭinite challenge was at its height. The first eight chapters of the book refute the doctrines of Bāṭinism, concluding that Bāṭinites are outside the pale of Islam and deserve death as apostates.¹ The ninth chapter discusses the Caliphate and al-Mustaẓhir's title to it. The tenth and last chapter is a short 'Mirror' imparting ethico-religious advice to al-Mustaẓhir, some of which is evidently reproduced in *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*; the counsels and anecdotes here presented are all Islamic (not Sāsānian), and particular importance is attached to following the *Shari'at* and consulting 'ulamā'.²

Both Ghazālī in chapter ix of his *Mustaẓhiri* and Māwardī in chapter i of his *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyah* hold that the Imāmate or Caliphate is an institution prescribed by the *Shari'at* (rather than a logically necessary institution, as the Bāṭinites and the philosophers held). After Muḥammad's death, the early Muslims had hastened to choose a leader, Abū Bakr, even before they buried the Prophet's corpse; and ever since then the consensus of opinion (*ijmā'*—which is one of the 'roots' of Sunnite jurisprudence) had been that the legality of governmental and judicial processes must derive from a single Imām acknowledged by all. In Ghazālī's view al-Mustaẓhir was the sole rightful Imām of the age, both because he possessed the necessary qualifications, and also because, being backed by effective military power (*shawkah*—i.e. that of the Saljūqs), he was acknowledged by the great majority of Muslims.

According to Māwardī,³ a prospective Caliph will normally have been designated by the preceding Caliph, but his legal title will depend upon his possession of the necessary qualifications and upon the homage (*bay'ah*) paid to him after his predecessor's death by electors, who represent the Muslim community and are called 'possessors of (the power of) loosening and binding' (*ahl al-ḥall wa'l-'aqd*); opinions differed, Māwardī says, as to whether the minimum number of the electors should be five, three, or one. In

¹ *Streitschrift*, selections from text, pp. 48–50; analysis, pp. 71–72. Having reached this conclusion, Ghazālī argues that professions of penitence by Bāṭinites may be taken at face value, despite their practice of *taqiyyah* (concealment), and that the Bāṭinite oath may be invalidated by means of casuistry.

² *Ibid.*, selections from text, pp. 78–81; analysis, pp. 90–97. Only a very small part of this chapter is reproduced in Goldziher's selections.

³ *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyah*, tr. Fagnan, chapter i (on the Contract of the Imāmate), pp. 5–42.

practice the ceremony was performed by leading 'ulamā' of the capital. In accepting the homage of the electors, the Caliph assumes a contractual obligation towards the community to fulfil certain functions, whereupon all Muslims become religiously bound to obey him. Māwardī enumerates seven Caliphal qualifications and ten Caliphal functions. The qualifications are: (1) justice ('adālah), (2) knowledge ('ilm), i.e. of Islamic law and theology, (3) sound sight, hearing, and speech, (4) sound limbs, (5) administrative competence (*kifāyah*), (6) courage and energy in war, and (7) descent from Muḥammad's tribe, the Quraysh. The functions are to: (1) uphold religious orthodoxy, (2) enforce judicial verdicts, (3) maintain security, (4) apply the Qur'ānic penalties for offences, (5) garrison the frontiers, (6) wage holy war against infidels, (7) collect legally authorized tributes (*fay'*) and alms-taxes (*zakāt*), (8) pay salaries and expenses, (9) appoint trustworthy officials, and (10) personally supervise governmental and religious business. Māwardī does not say that a Caliph may be deposed by the electors for non-fulfilment of these functions; all he admits is that a Caliph will lose his title if he forfeits the qualification of justice through immoral or unorthodox conduct, or if he is deprived of the qualification of physical soundness. The usual practice, inherited from Sāsānian times,¹ was to disqualify fallen Caliphs and other rulers by blinding them. Māwardī also discusses the case of an Imām (i.e. Caliph) who is deprived of liberty; if the intruder is an infidel or a Muslim rebel, the loss of liberty will disqualify the Imām for further office unless there is hope of his release; but if the intruder is one of the Imām's own auxiliaries, who places the Imām under restraint and assumes discretionary authority but conducts affairs in accordance with the exigencies of right religion and justice, the Imām may accept the situation and retain office. In a later chapter, on the Amirate, Māwardī similarly admits an 'amirate of conquest', which arises when a military leader conquers a territory and is designated by the Caliph as its amir; provided that such an amir enforces the *Shari'at* and maintains allegiance to the Caliph, he may lawfully keep control of the territory and demand the obedience of its inhabitants.

In chapter ix of his *Mustaḥṣiri*,² Ghazālī gives a similar list of

Caliphal qualifications, six physical and four moral: (1) adulthood, (2) sanity, (3) liberty, (4) male sex, (5) Qurayshite descent, and (6) sound sight and hearing; (1) military prowess (*najdah*), (2) administrative competence (*kifāyah*), (3) piety (*wara'*), and (4) knowledge ('ilm). Despite al-Mustaḥṣir's minority and position *vis-à-vis* the Saljūqs, Ghazālī asserts that he obviously possessed all the physical qualifications; and his Qurayshite descent was genuine, whereas the genealogy claimed by the Fāṭimids was spurious. As regards military prowess, this was supplied on the Caliph's behalf by the 'Turks', i.e. Saljūqs, who possessed the military power (*shawkah*) and loyally defended and supported the Caliph; even if they did sometimes disobey the Caliph or exceed their rights, they nevertheless gave allegiance to him and considered it their religious duty to protect him; never before did a Caliph have such prowess (*najdah*) at his disposal. As regards administrative competence, al-Mustaḥṣir had given proof of shrewdness and determination and of willingness to heed his *wazir* and other reliable counsellors. As regards piety, which is the highest qualification, being inward and independent of outside help, al-Mustaḥṣir led a virtuous and ascetic private life and zealously upheld Islamic institutions, using the public revenues for authorized governmental and religious expenses; but he did not possess infallibility (which the Bāṭinites postulated in their Imāms), because that would be contrary to human nature; scholars even differed as to the extent to which Prophets can be deemed to have been infallible. As regards knowledge, Ghazālī denies that the high degree of religious and legal knowledge required in a *mujtahid*, i.e. in an 'ālim competent to give original rulings (*fatwās*), need be an essential qualification for the Imāmate. The youthful al-Mustaḥṣir did not rank as a *mujtahid*, but there had not been any other Qurayshite candidate for the office who did so rank. The legitimacy of al-Mustaḥṣir's Imāmate should therefore be acknowledged; while he for his part ought to consult the most learned 'ulamā' in all doubtful cases, and strive to perfect his own theological and legal knowledge.

This demonstration of al-Mustaḥṣir's title to the Imāmate and of the consequent duty of Muslims to 'obey' him rests solely upon arguments that al-Mustaḥṣir possessed the necessary qualifications. Unlike Māwardī, Ghazālī does not specify any Caliphal functions or suggest that the Caliph is under a contractual obligation towards

¹ Hormizd (Hurmuz) II was imprisoned and blinded after being deposed, and only later put to death; Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 444.

² *Streitschrift*, selections from text, pp. 57-78; analysis, pp. 80-90.

the Muslim community to fulfil such functions. Ghazālī's arguments show clearly that he did not expect that any of the military, administrative or religious functions of government would actually be exercised by the Caliph; they would be exercised by Turks, by *wazīrs* and secretaries, and by '*ulamā*'. In *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* the Sulṭān clearly fulfils the functions of old Persian kings and bygone Caliphs who had actually governed; to the Sulṭān go Ghazālī's counsels to follow the example of Sāsānid and early Muslim forbears, but not to the contemporary Caliph al-Mustazhir. At the same time Ghazālī considered it vitally important that military leaders, civilian officials and '*ulamā*' should work together for the good of the faith and all give allegiance to the rightful Caliph as the living symbol of legality, orthodoxy and Muslim unity; the lack of advice to this effect in *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* is therefore surprising, even if explicable.

SOURCES

Naṣīhat al-Mulūk gathers together materials from many sources, of which only a few are mentioned in the text, namely:

- p. 25 *Ihyā* '*Ulūm al-Dīn*, Book XXV.
- p. 33 (probably) *Ihyā*, Book XXVI.
- p. 70 *Kitāb Siyar al-Mulūk*, which in the context may mean the *Siyāsatnāmah* of Nizām al-Mulk, or perhaps some book of biographies and examples of Muslim kings.
- p. 99 *Kitāb al-Farā'id wa'l-Qalā'id* of Abū'l-Ḥasan (?Abū 'Alī-al-Ḥasan) al-Ahwāzī.
- p. 63 *Pandnāmah-hā*, Ar. *Kutub Maxwā'izihim*.
- p. 74 *Siyar al-Mulūk*, which in the context must mean some version of the Book of the Kings (*Khvudāynāmah*).
- p. 94 *Yādgārnāmah-hā*; Ar. *Kitāb Yādgārnāmah*.
- p. 98 '*Ahdnāmah* (also in Ar.) of *Ardashīr*.
- p. 107 Testament (*waṣīyat*) of *Anūshīrvān* to his son.
- p. 120 Testament (*waṣīyatnāmah*, Ar. *waṣīyat*) of (P.) *Shāpūr ibn Ardashīr* or (Ar.) *Ardashīr*.
- p. 153 (probably) Testament of *Parvīz* to his son.
- p. 108 Proverbs (*Amthāl*) of Abū 'Ubayd (probably Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām).
- p. 110 *Pandnāmah*, Ar. *Kitāb Waṣāyā Zayn al-Ḥukamā' Aristūṭālīs*.
- p. 140 *Kitāb al-Adwiyah*.

The Islamic teachings which occupy Part I and much of Part II are corroborated by sayings and stories of Muḥammad and his

contemporaries, earlier prophets and the Children of Israel, Caliphs and other Muslim rulers, Muslim sages, and Šūfī saints. Dr. H. D. Isaacs has noted parallels in Part I with *Ihyā*, and also some Talmudic parallels; these are shown in footnotes. As already mentioned, the 'Ten Branches' (pp. 12-31) are paralleled in *Kimīyā-yi Sa'adat* (though the order there is different), but are not found in *Ihyā*. Ignaz Goldziher has noted that the exhortations and examples of the two 'Umars, Jesus, Moses, Abū Ḥāzim, Abū Qilābah, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Muḥammad ibn Ka'b al-Qurazī, Shaqīq al-Balkhī and Fuḍayl ibn 'Iyād appearing in Part I have with few exceptions been copied from chapter ix of the *Mustazhiri*; these items are not included in Goldziher's selections from the text of the *Mustazhiri*. Passages concerning Muḥammad and his contemporaries must have been taken directly or indirectly from the *Ḥadīth* collections, and they are often headed *Khabar* or *Akhbār*, which in Persian are commonly used instead of *Ḥadīth* to designate the Islamic Traditions; but these words also appear with their ordinary meanings of 'report' or 'reports' at the head of passages which cannot be *Ḥadīth*, or are unlikely to be sound *Ḥadīth*; the matter is accordingly brought up in footnotes. Stories of Jewish origin (*Isrā'iliyāt*) and about Jesus are remarkably numerous: p. 17 (David), p. 23 (Torah), p. 39 and perhaps p. 40 (Children of Israel, told by Wahb ibn Munabbih), p. 41 (Children of Israel, told by Yazīd al-Raqāshī), p. 42 (Solomon), p. 56 (Children of Israel), p. 57 (Moses), p. 72 (David), two on p. 141 (Torah, told by Wahb) and p. 161 (Children of Israel); and pp. 26, 33, 38, and 147 (Jesus). They probably all come from *Ihyā* and go back to lost works of Wahb ibn Munabbih (d. 114/732).² The stories of Solomon on pp. 108 and 157 are evidently based on Qur'ānic legend. Although Šūfī saints, pious Caliphs, Muslim sages, &c., figure prominently in the *adab* literature, Ghazālī probably took the material for *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* and for his earlier works from Šūfī books such as the *Qūt al-Qulūb* ('Food for Hearts') of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/998)³ and the works of al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/847),⁴ which he mentions in his

¹ *Streitschrift*, p. 96 and p. 99.

² Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, Suppl. 1, p. 101.

³ Louis Massignon states that whole pages of *Qūt al-Qulūb* were copied in *Ihyā* (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. *Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī*).

⁴ Margaret Smith, *An Early Mystic of Baghdad . . . al-Muḥāsibī*, London, 1935; and her translation of his *Ri'āyah li-Ḥuqūq Allāh*, London, 1940 (G.M.S.).

Autobiography.¹ Professor Humā'ī has noted that many of the stories of saints come from the *Qūt al-Qulūb* and from the *Risālah* of Abū'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī.² The story on p. 20 is paralleled in Hujwiri's (d. 465/1073) *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, the oldest Persian treatise on Sūfism,³ but there are no other signs of dependence.

A number of the Muslim and Sāsānian stories and sayings which exemplify the counsels given in Part II have also been traced in extant earlier works, as shown in the footnotes. Some eighteen items are paralleled in the *Siyāsatnāmah*, ten being Muslim (pp. 46, 54, 66, 68, 71, 92, 95, 97, 98, 121), seven Sāsānian (pp. 75, 93, 95, 96, 100, 102, 103), and one here Muslim but in the *Siyāsatnāmah* Sāsānian (p. 94); discrepancies in the texts and sometimes also in the names of the protagonists perhaps indicate use of common sources rather than direct borrowing. There are also parallels with the *Qābūsnāmah*. Some eleven passages (pp. 87, 88, 96, 96-97, 100, 101, 102, 103, 124) deal with Sāsānid royal practices which receive more detailed treatment in the *Kitāb al-Tāj* of pseudo-Jāhiz. Parallels have also been noted with passages in some historical works, and in Ibn Qutaybah's *Uyūn al-Akhhbār* and Bayhaqī's *Maḥāsin wa'l-Masāwī* among works of *adab*; Professor Humā'ī states that there are also parallels in the *Maḥāsin wa'l-Addād* of pseudo-Jāhiz (which is similar in content to Bayhaqī's work). Carl Brockelmann has noted the existence of manuscripts of the *Farā'id wa'l-Qalā'id* of Ahwāzī;⁴ examination of these and of Ahwāzī's 'Mirror' *al-Tibr al-Munsabik fī Tadbīr al-Malik* would reveal how much Ghazālī depended on this earlier author (if as seems probable this was one author).

Among the stories of the Barmakids in Part II, Chapter IV, Professor Humā'ī has noted that four (pp. 122, 123, 125, 127) are shortened versions of stories found in the *Tārikh-i Barāmīkah* edited by Mirzā 'Abd al-Karīm Khān Gurgānī (Tehran, 1312 solar/1935); on grounds of style he thinks that this Persian history of the Barmakids (which has been ascribed to an author named Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn Harawī) must antedate *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* and thus be one of the oldest monuments of Persian prose. Some parallels in early Arabic works have also been indicated in the

¹ Text, ed. A. Ghalwash, p. 34; tr. W. Montgomery Watt, p. 54.

² Cf. above, p. lvii, note 3.

³ Tr. R. A. Nicholson, London, 1911 (G.M.S.).

⁴ *G.A.L.*, Suppl. 1, p. 720; see above, p. xii, note 2.

footnotes. Professor Humā'ī thinks that some of the poems in *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* may be from Ghazālī's own pen and that some may go back to Ghaznavid and Sāmānid times; some may be translations of Arabic originals. Further research may reveal earlier sources of many more passages, such as those about secretaries in Chapter III and about women in Chapter VII. Two items which deserve investigation are the lines on Ya'qūb ibn Layth's tomb (p. 99), which though perhaps originally translated from Arabic may well be one of the oldest specimens of Persian verse; and the memorable saying *Bih mih nah mih bih* ('The best is greatest, not the greatest best') in the story, discussed below, about al-Ma'mūn's opening Anūshīrvān's tomb (p. 82).

Writing when he did, Ghazālī probably drew much of the Sāsānian material in *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* from relatively recent Arabic and Persian compilations; indeed three stories (pp. 63, 82 [Alexander], and 171) gain all or most of their point from Arabic puns and therefore cannot be genuinely, or wholly, Sāsānian. There is evidence, however, pointing to the more distant sources of some items. Thanks mainly to the *Fihrist* ('Catalogue') compiled in 377/987 by the bookseller Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm, who gives titles of lost Arabic versions of lost Pahlavi books, and to the *Uyūn al-Akhhbār* of Ibn Qutaybah, who not infrequently quotes his sources, scholars have been able to form a picture of some of the Sāsānian source-books of the 'Mirrors for Princes'.¹ The most important translator of these was the celebrated 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffa', put to death in 139/757 allegedly as a crypto-Manichaean heretic, but perhaps really for political reasons; it would appear, however, that after his conversion to Islam, which doubtless represented an acknowledgement of its supremacy as the state religion, he had maintained a syncretistic outlook, not unlike that of the Manichaeans, upon the various faiths of his day, viewing their claims to exclusive truth with a measure of tolerant scepticism. Despite this, his translations achieved their purpose of presenting Persian culture as the model for Muslims, and they also set the model for elegant Arabic prose; but as other authors took over and islamized their contents, they fell gradually into disuse with the exception of the masterpiece *Kalīlah wa Dimnah*.²

¹ Gustav Richter, op. cit. (see above, p. ix, note 2), chap. i; Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, pp. 55-74.

² Though probably less used than later versions, Ibn al-Muqaffa's translations

Ibn al-Muqaffa's own works *al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr*, *al-Ādāb al-Kabīr*, and *al-Risālah fī l-Ṣaḥābah* have been preserved and are included in Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī's collection *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā* (3rd ed., Cairo 1365/1946; 1st ed. 1331/1913).¹ The two *adab* books impart teachings found in later 'Mirrors' and notably in Part II, Chapters I, II, IV and VI, of *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk*, but do so in wholly abstract form, with no mention of names whether Sāsānian or Muslim, nor even specifically of Islam, though great stress is laid upon religion (*dīn*) as well as upon 'intelligence' (*'aql*); one saying with an Arabic rhyme found in *al-Ādāb al-Kabīr* (pp. 52-53 of *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*) appears in the Persian text of *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* (p. 144 below) as a saying of Ardashīr. The *Risālah fī l-Ṣaḥābah*, on the other hand, gives topical advice to the Caliph al-Manṣūr on the need to control his army, unify the different systems of Islamic law being followed at Baṣrah and Kūfah (an idea acceptable to Shī'ite but not to Sunnite thought), conciliate the Syrians, levy taxes justly, consult '*ulamā*', and choose reliable and noble companions and high officials, especially royal relatives and 'Alids. The same emphasis on noble birth is, as already mentioned, a feature of *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* (pp. 85-86 and 124-5 below); but the idea is Persian. *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā* also includes another work, *Yatīmat al-Sultān*, a second *Yatīmah*, and collections of letters and aphorisms, all attributed rightly or wrongly to Ibn al-Muqaffa'.² It is evident that Ibn al-Muqaffa's authentic and purported own writings were not among the sources of *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk*; his ideas, however, must have been largely derived from lost Pahlavi works on which the 'Mirrors' also ultimately depended.

According to the *Fihrist*,³ Ibn al-Muqaffa's translations included:

(i) The *Khvudāy-nāmah*; Book of the Kings (Ar. *Siyar al-Mulūk*). Oldest and perhaps most faithful of the many lost Arabic translations and versions from which the historians drew their somewhat varying accounts of Persia's past. Probably in some of the

may still have been available in Ghazālī's time. Ibn Isfandiyyār in his *History of Ṭabaristān* written c. 1216 (abridged tr. by E. G. Browne, Leyden/London (G.M.S.), 1905) says that one of the books which he found in a bookshop in Khvārizm was Ibn al-Muqaffa's translation of the letter of Tansar (see below, p. lxiii, note 1).

¹ Richter, op. cit., pp. 4-22; E. I. J. Rosenthal, op. cit., pp. 69-74.

² G.A.L., Suppl. 1, pp. 234-5 (translations) and 235-7 (own works).

³ *Fihrist*, ed. Gustav Flügel, Leipzig, 1872, p. 118, lines 26-29.

translations and versions by later writers, of whom the historian Ḥamzah al-Isfahānī writing in 350/961 mentions eight,¹ and also in the lost Persian prose translation said to have been used by Firdawsī, further materials from Pahlavi romance and 'testament' literature were incorporated.

(ii) The *Āyinnāmah*; cited by Ibn Qutaybah and used in the *Kitāb al-Tāj* of pseudo-Jāhīz. Sāsānid royal practices and ceremonies, with anecdotes.²

(iii) *Kalilah wa Dimnah*; the surviving fables of the Indian sage Bidpai, in which animals utter aphorisms and *Zahlensprüche*.

(iv) *Kitāb Mazdak*; historical romance of the heretic Mazdak and King Qubād, used in chapter xlv of the *Siyāsatnāmah* of Nizām ul-Mulk.

(v) *Kitāb al-Tāj fī Sirat Anūshīrvān*; either a romance of Anūshīrvān, or a misnomer for the *Kitāb al-Tāj (Tājnāmah)* mentioned below.

The *Fihrist* also says that Ibn al-Muqaffa' 'translated' the *Ādāb al-Kabīr*, *Adab al-Ṣaghīr*, and *Yatīmah*; and in another place that 'the Persians in olden times had translated some books of logic and medicine and these were translated into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa' and others'.³

Various other Persian (i.e. Pahlavi) books which were translated into Arabic receive mention in the *Fihrist* and elsewhere. Among these were:

(i) Historical romances, probably with didactic material as in *Kalilah wa Dimnah*; of Ardashīr, Mazdak, Anūshīrvān, Bahrām Chūbīn, Parvīz, and probably also of Bahrām Gūr and other historical and mythical kings.⁴ Romances of Ardashīr and of the

¹ Christensen, op. cit., p. 60; Th. Nöldeke in W. Geiger and E. Kühn ed., *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii, Strasbourg, 1896-1904, p. 143. Nöldeke quotes Ḥamzah as saying that Ibn al-Muqaffa' in his translations omitted material repugnant to Muslim feelings and to reason.

² Richter, op. cit., pp. 41-51; Christensen, op. cit., p. 62. There may have been more than one *Āyinnāmah* (Rules-book): cf. *Fihrist*, p. 305, 12; 138, 2 (tr. by the *wazīr* Jayhānī, c. 920); p. 314, 21 (Bahrām Gūr's *Āyīn* of shooting, and the *Āyīn* of polo-playing).

³ *Fihrist*, p. 242, 5 and 6; G.A.L., Suppl. 1, p. 235.

⁴ *Fihrist*, p. 305, 9-12: *Rustam wa Isfandiyyār* and *Bahrām Chūbīn* (tr. by Jabalah ibn Sālim); ? *Shahrbarāz ma' Parvīz*; *Karnāmiy fī Sirat Anūshīrvān* (probably in error for *Ardashīr*, see next note); *Khvudāy-nāmah*; *Bahrām wa Narsī*; *Kitāb Anūshīrvān*: p. 119, 3, *Sirat Ardashīr* and *Sirat Anūshīrvān* (versified by Ābān al-Lāḥiqī).

game of chess (see below) survive in Pahlavi recensions made by Zoroastrians in post-Sāsānian times.¹

(ii) Fictitious romances and fables, such as *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, the Book of *Sindibād* (originally Indian), *Bilawhar wa Yūdāsaf* (originally Buddhist), *Hazār Afsānah* (prototype of the 1001 Nights), *Wāmiq wa 'Adhrā*, &c.²

(iii) Books of Counsel (*Andarz* or *Pandnāmah*); aphorisms, *Zahlensprüche*, anecdotes, &c., on ethical and political subjects. This style of writing, cultivated in the Middle East since Old Testament and Babylonian times, evidently enjoyed particular vogue at Anūshīrvān's court. The lost originals must have reflected contemporary Zoroastrian ideas, but probably also contained materials of Greek and Indian origin. Considerable numbers of these books, including a *Pandnāmah* of the sage Buzurgmihr, survive in post-Sāsānian Pahlavi recensions which reflect later Zoroastrian ideas.³

(iv) Testaments, letters, allocutions, &c., addressed by kings to their successors, to the subjects and officials, &c. The best known was the 'Covenant' (*Ahd*) of Ardashīr; some possibly genuine extracts of an Arabic translation of this have been published in M. Kurd 'Alī's *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*. Firdawsī gives accounts both of Ardashīr's instructions to the nobles and of Ardashīr's deathbed testament to his son Shāpūr I, and then of Shāpūr's testament to his son Hurmuz I; indeed, almost all the Sāsānid kings in the *Shāhnāmah* leave testaments, write letters, make speeches from the throne, &c., and such may indeed have been the royal practice; but it is thought that most of the lost texts transmitted from Pahlavi to Arabic must have been composed or re-edited in late Sāsānian times on the lines of the *andarz* literature of that period.⁴ One

¹ *Karnāmāgh-i Ardashēr-i Pābhagān* and *Madhīgān-i Tchattrang*: Christensen, op. cit., p. 58; *Grundriss*, ii, pp. 118–19 (E. W. West) and p. 135 (Nöldeke).

² *Fihrist*, pp. 304–5; p. 119, 3–5.

³ Christensen, op. cit., pp. 57–58; West in *Grundriss*, ii, pp. 90–116. The *Fihrist*, pp. 315–16, paragraph on 'Books by known and unknown authors about sermons, manners and proverbs of the Persians, Greeks, Indians and Arabs', speaks of lost works which may have been based upon Pahlavi *andarz* books, along with 'testaments' (see next note) and much else.

⁴ Richter, op. cit., pp. 63–64; Christensen, op. cit., p. 63. *Fihrist*, pp. 315–16 (see preceding note): '*Ahds* of Ardashīr, Kisrā Anūshīrvān and Kisrā (?)'; p. 113, 14, Balādhurī versified the '*Ahd* of Ardashīr'; p. 126, 17 and 18, the books unanimously agreed to be best (for secretaries) were the '*Ahd* of Ardashīr, *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, the *Risālah Māhāniyah* of 'Umārah ibn Ḥamzah, Ibn al-Muqaffā's *Yatimah*, and the *Risālat al-Ḥusn* of Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Kātib.

surviving example is the *Letter of Tansar* to the King of Ṭabaristān, conserved by Ibn Isfandiyyār in his History of Ṭabaristān dated 606/1209–10 in a Persian summary of a lost Arabic translation said to have been made by Ibn al-Muqaffā'; this is presented as a letter from Ardashīr's high priest Tansar, but is shown by internal evidence to date from Anūshīrvān's reign.¹ Among the post-Sāsānian Pahlavi *andarz* books is one attributed to Khusrāw son of Qubād, i.e. Anūshīrvān.

(v) The old *Kitāb al-Tāj* (*Tājnāmah*). Cited by Ibn Qutaybah as the source of passages often paralleled in the *Kitāb al-Tāj* of pseudo-Jāḥiẓ; evidently consisted of political and ethical counsels for kings, partly in the form of sayings, testaments and letters from prison attributed to Parvīz. Arthur Christensen and other scholars think that the original Pahlavi *Tājnāmah* may have been a book described by the historian Mas'ūdī who saw a copy of it in 303/915–6 and says that it had been translated into Arabic; according to Mas'ūdī it was illustrated with portraits of all the Sāsānid kings and contained much information about their buildings and political institutions.² If so, much of the Sāsānian material found in Muslim literature may have come from this source.

Among the Sāsānian passages in *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*, the very corrupt account of the Kings (pp. 47–53) and the story of Yazdgard the Sinner's death (p. 103) must presumably go back to some version of the *Khvudāynāmah*. No parallels could be traced in *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, except perhaps in the story (here involving Solomon) on p. 157; the story of the royal meeting in the garden (p. 64) bears some resemblance to a story of a meeting of the kings of China, India, Persia and Greece found in the preface to *Kalilah wa Dimnah* by Bahnūd ibn Sahwān known as 'Alī ibn al-Shāh al-Fārisī. The *Āyinnāmah* must be the ultimate source of the passages concerning Sāsānid royal practices (pp. 87, 88, 96, 96–97, 100, 101, 102, 103, 124) already mentioned as having parallels in the *Kitāb al-Tāj* of pseudo-Jāḥiẓ.

¹ Christensen, op. cit., pp. 63–66. Text in *Journal Asiatique*, ix, iii. 1894, pp. 185–250 and 502–55. *Fihrist*, p. 316, 4, Kisrā's letter to the Marzubān and the latter's reply, may refer to the letter of Tansar but does not say that it was translated by Ibn al-Muqaffā' (cf. above, p. lix, note 2).

² Christensen, op. cit., pp. 66–68; Richter, op. cit., pp. 56–61; Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, tr. Carra de Vaux, *Le Livre de l'avertissement et des remarques*, Paris, 1896, p. 150. *Fihrist*, p. 305, 11, *Kitāb al-Tāj wa mā tafā'alat bihi mulūkuhum* ('and how their kings identified good omens')—presumably a quite different work.

The saying that 'monarchy and religion are like brothers' (p. 59) is ascribed by Ibn Qutaybah to Ardashīr and also appears in the selections from the 'Covenant' ('*Ahd*') of Ardashīr in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*. No parallels have been found in works consulted to the saying from Ardashīr's 'Covenant' on p. 98 or to the saying from his or Shāpūr's 'Testament' on p. 120; but his saying on p. 95 is from the 'Covenant', and as already mentioned his saying on p. 144 occurs (without attribution) in Ibn Muqaffa's *al-Ādāb al-Kabīr*. Presumably all these sayings go back to 'testament' literature. The rest of Ardashīr's sayings (pp. 106, 107, 109) occur in Chapter III on the Wazīrate, where they are intermingled with counsels from Anūshīrvān's 'Testament' (p. 107), with sayings of Bahrām Gūr, of Anūshīrvān's chief *mōbed* and of Aristotle and Buzurgmihr, and with a very small amount of Muslim material. The term used for 'minister' in this chapter is in Persian usually *dastūr* but sometimes *wazīr*, and in Arabic *wazīr*; the word *dastūr*, which occurs frequently in Firdawsī's *Shāhnāmāh*, meant in Sāsānian times 'jurisconsult' (cf. the Muslim *mufti*),¹ and among modern Zoroastrians means 'priest'. The various Sāsānian sayings have been very much islamized and adapted to make them applicable to the 'Abbāsīd institution of the wazīrate; and they are perhaps more likely to have come from a single earlier Muslim source than to have been culled from different sources. The Muslim 'Books of *Wazīrs*' were mainly concerned, it seems, with events and practices in 'Abbāsīd and subsequent times. Ibn al-Muqaffa', however, uses the term *wazīr* along with other terms such as helper, adviser, official, &c., in his discussion of royal companions in *al-Ādāb al-Kabīr*;² it therefore seems possible that some Pahlavi 'counsels' on the subject of *dastūrs* and royal officials may have passed into Arabic and so eventually into *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk*.

Anūshīrvān appears as the subject of anecdotes and as giver and receiver of counsels. The anecdotes (pp. 55, 61–62, 63–65, 72, 73, 80, 83–84, 124) are mostly aphoristic in character; some may go back to the *andarz* literature, others to the romance literature which

¹ Christensen, op. cit., pp. 120 and 262.

² Dominique Sourdél, *Le Vizirat 'Abbāsīde*, Damas, 1959, pp. 6–14 ('Books of *Wazīrs*'); pp. 56–58 (use of the term *wazīr* by Ibn al-Muqaffa'). Charles Schefer in his *Chrestomathie Persane*, i, Paris, 1892, pp. 10–28, has reproduced the anonymous *Adab ul-Saltanat wa'l-Wizarat* which possibly dates from the Ghaznavid or Sāmānid periods (H. Ethé in *Grundriss*, ii, p. 347); this was not available at the time of writing.

was probably often didactic in tone. The story about the capers on p. 63 can hardly be authentically Sāsānian. The story of the royal meeting in the garden on p. 64 has already been mentioned and will be discussed further. The story of the stolen wine-cup on p. 124 must be from the *Āyinnāmāh*.

Parvīz does not figure prominently in *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk*. Gustav Richter thinks that the saying of Parvīz on p. 96 comes from the old *Kitāb al-Tāj*,¹ and his saying to his son on p. 153 may well be from the same source unless it is from a 'testament'. The saying on p. 88, and the story on p. 94 if its protagonists should really be those named in Nizām al Mulk's version, may go back to the romance of Bahrām Chūbīn, or perhaps to the old *Kitāb al-Tāj*. The story of the fisherman on pp. 171 ff. may not be authentically Sāsānian.

The only anecdote of which a source is named is that of King Gushtāsb (or, as the *Siyāsatnāmāh* perhaps rightly has it, Bahrām Gūr) and his corrupt *wazīr* Rāstravishn; on p. 94 this is said to be from the *Yādgārnāmāh-hā* (in the Arabic text *Kitāb Yādgārnāmāh*). This 'Book of Memoirs' must have been a collection of stories, available in Ghazālī's time and perhaps depending ultimately on Pahlavi originals; the following guess may deserve consideration. The *Fihrist*, p. 245, lines 1 and 2, says that Ishāq ibn Yazīd made translations from 'Persian' and that among these was the Book of Biographies of the Persians known as the (?) *Ikhtiyār-nāmāh* (*Kitāb fī Sirat al-Furs al-ma'rūf b(i)-Ikhtiyār-nāmāh*); this is not likely to be an error for *Bakhtiyār-nāmāh*, the name of the Muslim imitation of the Indo-Persian *Sindibādnāmāh*, as the *Bakhtiyār-nāmāh* is thought to date from long after Ibn al-Nadīm's time;² could *Ikhtiyār-nāmāh* be an error for *Yādgārnāmāh*?

Aphorisms, proverbs, &c., were immensely popular in early Muslim literature, and the tendency was to assimilate their style and contents and to disregard or confuse their sources.³ The *Zahlensprüche* about women in Chapter VI are shown by their contents to be of Muslim origin despite their Persian form. The

¹ Richter, op. cit., p. 58.

² Probably written originally in Persian during the sixth/twelfth cent. *E.I.* (2), art. *Bakhtiyār-nāmāh*.

³ Richter, op. cit., p. 64, has located the following mentions of 'books of counsels' (sometimes 'testaments'; Ar. *waṣāyā*) in the *Fihrist*: p. 78, 15; 203, 12; 204, 17, 18; 204, 29; 207, 21; 210, 23; 212, 22; 217, 4–5; 220, 25; 222, 14; 234, 23; 281, 20; 282, 5.

reference to the *Pandnāmah-hā* ('Books of Counsel') on p. 63, in a context where counsels of Sāsānian kings and sages must be meant, suggests, however, that Ghazālī had access to translations or adaptations of Pahlavi *andarz* books. Professor Humā'ī has noted that the aphorism (here ascribed to Yūnān the Dastūr) on pp. 63–64 and the classification of worldly activities on p. 136 are paralleled in an edition of the *Jāvidān Khirad* published at Tehran. The *Jāvidān Khirad*, purportedly the testament of the mythical king Hūshang to his son, is said to have been found in an old chest by the Caliph al-Ma'mūn and to have been translated by Ḥasan ibn Sahl, brother of his *wazīr* Faḍl ibn Sahl, and later incorporated into a compendium of counsels prepared by the philosopher and historian 'Abd Allāh ibn Miskawayh (d. 421/1030) with the title *Ādāb al-'Arab wa'l-Furs*; this consisted of (a) the translated *Jāvidān Khirad*, and then wisdom of the (b) Persians, (c) Indians, (d) Arabs, (e) Greeks, and (f) contemporary philosophers.¹ An Arabic text of the *Jāvidān Khirad*, i.e. of Hūshang's 'testament', is included in M. Kurd 'Alī's *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*. *Jāvidān Khirad* was also the title given to a Persian recension of the whole compendium made for the Moghul emperor Jahāngīr; a second recension called *Intikhāb-i Shāyistah-Khānī* was made for one of the emperor Awrangzīb's generals. Perhaps the Tehran edition is based upon these. The contents of the *Intikhāb-i Shāyistah-Khānī*, according to H. Ethé, include counsels of Hūshang and other mythical kings, of Anūshīrvān, and of the sages Buzurgmihr and Āzarbād and the physician Burzūyah; a short chronicle of the Persian kings; Arab sayings, and sayings of Muḥammad and of Imāms and Šūfī saints; the 'testament' of the Qur'ānic sage Luqmān; and sayings of Socrates, Aristotle, Plato, &c., and of Indian holy men.² It may well be that Ibn Miskawayh's *Ādāb al-'Arab wa'l-Furs* was an immediate or intermediate source of much material in *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk*.

In the *Shāhnāmah* and other well-known works, the sage who figures as Anūshīrvān's principal counsellor or '*wazīr*' is always the celebrated Buzurgmihr. In *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* this role is filled by an unfamiliar person named Yūnān. He advises Anūshīrvān (pp. 62, 63), sends letters to him in the form of *Zahlensprüche* (pp. 72, 83) and about intelligence (p. 154), and also utters a

¹ Ethé in *Grundriss*, ii, p. 346; *G.A.L.*, Suppl. 1, pp. 584–5.

² *Grundriss*, ii, p. 346.

saying obviously not intended for a king (p. 136). Buzurgmihr is quoted more frequently, but only twice (pp. 135, 155) in connexion with Anūshīrvān by name; and no title is given to him, whereas Yūnān is called in the Persian text always *dastūr*, and in the Arabic text mostly *wazīr* but sometimes *dastūr*. Christensen has noted that Yūnān is mentioned in the anonymous *Mujmil al-Tawārikh* written in 520/1126 along with Buzurgmihr, Burzūyah, Mahbudh, Narsī and Simāh Burzīn as one of the sages, philosophers and *mobeds* at Anūshīrvān's court;¹ and he has also drawn attention to a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century Zoroastrian work in Persian written by a Parsi named Marzubān of Rāwar in Sind and described by Edward Sachau.² One part of this work is a romance in which Yūnān the Dastūr plays a big part. Anūshīrvān and he hold long platitudinous discussions; Anūshīrvān gathers together the Turkish, Roman, Chinese and Indian rulers in a beautiful garden (cf. the story on p. 64 below); Yūnān writes a book called the *Farrukh-nāmah*, copies of which are placed in the great fire-temple Āzargushnāsb and in Anūshīrvān's tomb (*dakhmah*); after the Arab conquest an aged *mobed* presents a copy to 'Alī (or in another version al-Ma'mūn), who orders Abū'l-Khayr 'Amrī to translate it into 'Persian' (*sic*); later 'Alī is led to the *dakhmah* where he sees Anūshīrvān's body sitting on a throne and finds a ring on his finger and a tablet on the wall on which are inscribed moral sentences and predictions (cf. the story on pp. 81–82 below). Sachau does not report these sentences, but probably would have mentioned *Bih mih nah mih bih* had it been among them. The *Qābūs-nāmah* also tells a story of the opening of Anūshīrvān's tomb, and like *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* says that this was done by al-Ma'mūn. The story is rather similar to that of al-Ma'mūn's finding the 'Testament of Hūshang' in an old chest. According to Professor Humā'ī, the classification of worldly activities in *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* (p. 136 below) is ascribed in the Tehran edition of the *Jāvidān Khirad* to the sage Āzarbād; this name could easily be corrupted in the Arabic alphabet, if the

¹ Christensen in his article in *Le sage Buzurgmihr* (see note 3 on p. lxviii below).

² Sachau, *Contributions to the Knowledge of Parsee Literature*, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, iv, London, 1870, pp. 235–7 and 258–64. Sachau states that Marzubān gives the romance first in a versified recension and then in two prose recensions, in one of which Ma'mūn and in the other Hārūn al-Rashīd opens Anūshīrvān's tomb. In the versified recension the opener's name was changed to 'Alī, probably in order to justify Zoroastrian claims for protection under the Shī'ite Šafavid régime.

initial *alif* were dropped, into Yūnān. The greatest Zoroastrian religious figure in Sāsānian times was the chief *mōbed* in the reign of Shāpūr II, Ādurbadh-i Mahrspandan, who fixed the text of the Avesta and proved its validity by submitting himself to the ordeal of fire;¹ several *andarz* books in the name of this sage, but probably written in late Sāsānian times, still survive in post-Sāsānian Zoroastrian Pahlavi recensions.² Perhaps some sayings of Āzarbād passed into Muslim literature through Arabic translations, the king being changed at some stage from Shāpūr to the more familiar Anūshīrvān; they were evidently incorporated into Ibn Miskawayh's *Adāb al-'Arab wa'l-Furs*, and they may have reached Ghazālī through some later book in which the sage's name became corrupted to Yūnān and in which the story of al-Ma'mūn's opening the old chest became romanticized into the story of his opening Anushīrvān's tomb.

Naṣīhat al-Mulūk contains some sixteen sayings of Buzurgmihr (pp. 75, 77, 90, 111, 135, 136, 137, 138, 140, 142, 145, 154, 155); one of these, on p. 140, may be of Christian origin. The question whether this renowned sage really existed has been exhaustively studied by Christensen.³ Buzurgmihr, who is not mentioned at all in Ṭabari's Annals, appears in later literature as Anūshīrvān's sagacious counsellor or *wazīr* and as the sayer of innumerable aphorisms, mostly ethical or political in content and often ascetic in tone, though sometimes merely witty. A consecutive account of Buzurgmihr's sayings given by Mas'ūdī (d. 346/956) includes counsels which appear without attribution among the basic teachings of the 'Mirrors for Princes' (to fear God, heed scholars, respect noblemen, supervise judges and officials, guard the frontiers, &c.). Buzurgmihr is also the Zoroastrian ethico-religious preacher of the surviving Pahlavi *Pandnāmagh-i Vuzurgmihr*. In Firdawsī's *Shāhnāmah* and in the surviving Pahlavi romance *Mādhigān-i Tchattrang* he interprets the game of chess sent to Anūshīrvān by the King of India and invents the game of tric-trac. Firdawsī, and also Tha'ālibī (d. 429/1038) in his History of the Kings of the Persians, make Buzurgmihr perform wonderful feats

¹ Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, pp. 142 and 304; West in *Grundriss*, ii, pp. 34, 35, 36.

² West in *Grundriss*, ii; p. 110, *Patīr-i A. M.*; p. 112, *Andarz-i A. M.*; p. 111, *Pandnāmagh-i Zaradusht* (son of A. M.); p. 95, A. M.'s saying in the *Dēnkard*.

³ *La légende du sage Buzurgmihr*, in *Acta Orientalia*, viii, iii, Leiden, 1929, pp. 81-128.

of dream and riddle interpretation, in one of which Th. Nöldeke has seen a parallel with the legend of the sage Ahiqar, minister to the Assyrian kings Sennacherib and Esarhadon and author of edifying aphorisms. In Christensen's opinion, Buzurgmihr's fame in Muslim times stemmed from his role in Ibn al-Muqaffa's immensely popular *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, which has three introductions. The first is by Ibn al-Muqaffa; in the second introduction, Buzurgmihr tells how the physician Burzūyah brought Bidpai's fables from India for Anūshīrvān; in the third introduction, he (Buzurgmihr) recites Burzūyah's account of his upbringing and philosophical ideas. Having acquired from *Kalilah wa Dimnah* the notion that Buzurgmihr was Anūshīrvān's wise counsellor, Muslim writers readily ascribed to him all sorts of then circulating sayings and legends of sages. In regard to Buzurgmihr's end different traditions arose: Firdawsī and Tha'ālibī say nothing about it; Nizām al-Mulk in the *Siyāsatnāmah* (chapter xlii) says that he outlived the empire of the Sāsānids and explained their fall (cf. *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk*, pp. 99-100 below); and Mas'ūdī and others say that he angered Parvīz who had him put to death. Christensen has noted that in Firdawsī's and Tha'ālibī's accounts of the execution of three of Anūshīrvān's grantees by order of his successor Hurmuz IV, the name of one of them is given as Burzmihr, and a little later on in the *Shāhnāmah* as Simāh Burzīn. In Christensen's opinion, Burzūyah and Burzīn are both 'hypocoristic' variants of the name Burzmihr, and two persons must really have existed: a scholar-physician named Burzmihr or Burzūyah who studied in India, translated the Sanskrit *Pančatantra* ('Fables of Bidpai'), and propagated Indian cultural influences at Anūshīrvān's court; and a grandee named Burzmihr or Burzīn who was put to death by order of Hurmuz IV. Confusion of these two persons would give rise to the story of the sage's execution by a king and attract further legends. The name of the bringer of the Fables must always have been transmitted in the form Burzūyah, whereas in other reports of the same person's wisdom the name must have been transmitted in the form Burzmihr; this would explain why the physician-fabulist and the sage came to be regarded as different persons. Finally, Christensen thinks, the name Burzmihr must in Muslim times have undergone corruption to Buzurgmihr, which could easily occur in the Arabic, though not in the Pahlavi, writing system. The Zoroastrian authors of the surviving *Pandnāmah*, which is

shown by internal evidence to have been written long after the fall of the Sāsānids, must have transliterated the name Buzurgmihr into Pahlavi and have taken over his legendary personality as developed in Muslim literature.¹

Naṣīhat al-Mulūk, like other 'Mirrors' and *adab* books, also contains anecdotes and sayings of Alexander the Great and aphorisms ascribed to Greek philosophers and physicians. Before these are discussed, it must be said that Muslim thinkers—whether theologians, mystics, Bāṭinites or philosophers—customarily pitched their writings in different keys, for initiates and non-initiates respectively. Ghazālī was well acquainted, not only with the metaphysical and ethical systems of Fārābī (d. 339/950), Ibn Sīnā (d. 429/1037) and Ibn Miskawayh, but also with the real and supposed works of Plato, Aristotle, Galen, &c., which these Muslim philosophers had used in translations made from Syriac and Greek texts by scholars such as the Christian physicians Hunayn ibn Ishāq (d. 260/873) and Ishāq ibn Hunayn (d. 298/910). In his Autobiography Ghazālī pronounces his considered opinion: 'We must therefore reckon as unbelievers these philosophers themselves (i.e. Socrates, Plato and Aristotle) and their followers among the Islamic philosophers'; though he admits a little later on that Aristotle's philosophy contains undeniable truths in addition to heresy and unbelief.² Philosophical literature, however, was read only by learned initiates, while in the more widely read literature of romance and proverb, Aristotle and his peers figured as estimable sages. Ghazālī's willingness to quote for the edification of a Sultān popular sayings ascribed to philosophers whose ideas he had elsewhere refuted for fellow-scholars was quite in keeping with the custom of the age.

Stories of the lives and sayings of Greek philosophers are known to have passed from the popular Greek literature of Hellenistic and Roman times into Syriac monastic literature and thence into early Arabic literature.³ Passages in the *Fihrist* suggest that

¹ Christensen, loc. cit., thinks that the *Zafarnāmah*, which according to Ḥajjī Khalīfah was translated from Pahlavi into Persian by Ibn Sīnā for the Sāmānid prince Nūḥ ibn Maṣṣūr (r. 365/976–387/997), must have been based on the Zoroastrian *Pandnāmagh* and that Firdawsi's narrative of Buzurgmihr's colloquies with Anūshīrvān must have been derived from this original *Zafarnāmah*, the extant version reproduced in Schefer's *Chrestomathie Persane*, i, pp. 1–7, being a much later rehash.

² Text, ed. Ghalwash, pp. 18–19; tr. Montgomery Watt, p. 32.

³ Richter, op. cit., p. 93.

Plutarch's *Lives* were known to the Muslims, and another passage states that his *Moralia* were translated into Arabic, doubtless from some Syriac version.¹ It seems probable that material of this nature also reached Arabic through Pahlavi literature. Although Sāsānian Persia's contacts with the Greek-speaking world were mainly hostile, the large Syriac-speaking population in Ctesiphon, the royal capital, and the famous medical school at Gundayshāpūr in Khūzistān founded in the fifth century A.D. by Nestorian Christian refugees from Byzantium,² must have served as channels for the transmission of Greek ideas. More important was Anūshīrvān's well-attested interest in Greek as well as Indian 'philosophy'. Christensen relates (from Syriac and Greek sources) that a Christian named Paulus Persa wrote a compendium of Aristotelian theories in Syriac for Anūshīrvān; that a Syrian physician named Uranios 'taught philosophy' to Anūshīrvān who used to discuss it with the assembled *mobeds*; and that Anūshīrvān welcomed at Ctesiphon seven philosophers from a school at Athens closed in A.D. 529, though they soon returned home.³ The *Fihrist* mentions two lost Arabic books indicative of Anūshīrvān's interest in Greek philosophical 'counsels';⁴ in these, and in the unnamed books of Greek medicine and logic said to have been translated from Pahlavi by Ibn al-Muqaffa', it may be presumed that Greek philosophers became sages and that their teachings were recast in the form of aphorisms and *Zahlensprüche* like those of Buzurgmihr.

Another influence was the rôle of Alexander in Muslim historical tradition.⁵ The lost Greek romance of Alexander, written purportedly

¹ *Fihrist*, p. 245, 15 and 27; p. 254, 6–9 (various works of Plutarch, including one tr. by Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, d. 300/912). An Egyptian writer, Mubāshir ibn Fātik, produced in 445/1053 a compendium of sayings, &c., of the philosophers, which was tr. into Latin, French, and English; the Eng. tr. was 'the first book printed in England' (1477) (*G.A.L.*, Suppl. 1, p. 829).

² The Gundayshāpūr (Jundaysābūr) school continued into 'Abbāsīd times, when it produced the famous Christian physicians of the Bakhtyishū' family who attended Maṣṣūr and Hārūn al-Rashīd.

³ Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, pp. 427–9 and 430.

⁴ *Fihrist*, p. 316, 6–8 (book of questions sent by the king of the Romans to Anūshīrvān by the hand of ? Buqrāṭ al-Rūmī; book of the philosophers sent by the king of the Romans to the king of the Persians who had been asking him about wisdom). In a Zoroastrian Persian *riwāyat* said to have been tr. from Pahlavi, the Roman king at the request of the Persian king (Shāpūr I) sends philosophers with books of medicine and science such as those of Socrates and Aristotle, and they debate in the king's presence with the chief *mobed* who demonstrates the superiority of Persian science.

⁵ Richter, op. cit., pp. 94–99.

by his companion Callisthenes but really in Roman Egypt, was evidently translated into Pahlavi and extensively retouched in order to make the Macedonian 'devastator' (as a Zoroastrian religious book calls him)¹ appear to be the legitimate successor of Darius III on the throne of Persia. Nöldeke has shown that the surviving Syriac version of the Alexander-romance (unlike the surviving Ethiopian version) must have been based upon the Pahlavi recension; he thinks, however, that the Pahlavi romance cannot have been included in the original *Khvudāynāmah*, but must have been incorporated by Arabic translators into their accounts of the Persian kings and thus have passed into Firdawsī's *Shah-nāmah*.² Muslims thus came to see Alexander as a God-fearing and heroic Persian king who travelled to the ends of the world in search of knowledge and corresponded with his tutor, the philosopher-sage Aristotle. Alexander also came to be identified with Dhū'l-Qarnayn, the Two-Horned prophet of Q. xviii, 83 ff., despite Qur'ānic evidence, which troubled some scholars, of the latter's contemporaneity with Moses. Further legends of Syriac origin were thus attached to him, and he became not only a favourite figure of Muslim romantic literature, as in the *Iskandarnāmah* of Nizāmī (d. 600/1203), but also a forerunner of Islam with a sacred aura which necessarily encompassed his teacher Aristotle.

In *Naṣiḥat al-Mulūk*, Dhū'l-Qarnayn is mentioned once in an anecdote (p. 42) and once in an aphorism (p. 58), and is regarded as the same person as Alexander, who is mentioned in some ten aphorisms and aphoristic anecdotes (pp. 75, 82, 96, 137, 138, and 142) and in one long anecdote about ambassadors (p. 100). This last must go back to the *Āyinnāmah*; in Gustav Richter's opinion, the fact that embassies from Alexander to Darius III formed an important part of the Alexander-romance would naturally give rise to the notion that it was Alexander who originated Sāsānian diplomatic practices.³ Among the other passages, that on p. 82 depends on an Arabic pun. The saying on p. 142 is here narrated by Faḍl ibn Sahl, brother of Ḥasan ibn Sahl who is said to have

¹ West in *Grundriss*, ii, pp. 94 and 96 (*Dēnkard*).

² Nöldeke in *Grundriss*, ii, pp. 145-6. *Fihrist*, p. 117, 29-30: some of Aristotle's letters to Alexander were tr. by Abū'l-'Alā' Sālim, son-in-law of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (i.e. of Marwān II's secretary 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib (d. 132/749), the founder of Arabic epistolary style, who is thought to have used Pahlavi models).

³ Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

translated the *Jāvidān Khirad*; Ibn Qutaybah also quotes this saying of Alexander, but without a narrator. On p. 75, and evidently also on p. 96 and p. 137, Alexander is associated with Aristotle. Other sayings of Aristotle appear on pp. 73 and 139; the saying on p. 110 is ascribed in the Arabic text to Aristotle, in the Persian text to a *Pandnāmah*—perhaps an Arabic or Persian version of some Pahlavi advice-book. There are sayings of Socrates on pp. 75, 91, 134 (doubtful) and 139, of Plato on p. 91, and of Hippocrates (doubtful) on p. 139. Two *Zahlensprüche* of a somewhat medical nature are ascribed to Galen (p. 140), and the second of these is said to be from the *Kitāb al-Adwiyah* (Book of Remedies); whether this might refer to an adaptation of one of Galen's works¹ or to some other work or chapter of a work in which Galen was quoted, is not clear from the context.

The question whether any Platonic, Aristotelian or other Greek ideas are to be found among these purported sayings of the philosophers, or among the teachings of *Naṣiḥat al-Mulūk* and of 'Mirrors for Princes' generally, can only be decided by competent classical scholars. Dr. H. D. Isaacs has noted parallels in Plato's *Republic* to the discussion of justice and injustice in Part I (p. 24). The sayings that 'the memory which a gentleman leaves behind him is his second life' (p. 54) and to the effect that 'a man is never respected unless he respects himself' (p. 119) may well be Greek, and the islamized sayings of Plato and Socrates on p. 91 may contain Greek elements. On p. 73 Aristotle is made (as has been mentioned) to include the 'Divine Effulgence' (*farr*, Pahlavi *khvarr*) among royal qualities; and Dr. W. Montgomery Watt has pointed out that the following *Zahlenspruch* in which this 'effulgence' is defined bears some resemblance to Fārābī's definitions of the qualities of Imāms in his *Treatise on the Opinions of the Perfect City's Inhabitants*, which is based to a considerable extent on Plato's *Republic*.²

On p. 134 there is an anecdote, doubtfully ascribed to Ibn al-Muqaffa', concerning a King of India. It is not unlikely that a few items may go back through Arabic and Pahlavi literature to Indian origins.

¹ Hunayn ibn Ishāq translated some Syriac extracts of a work of Galen on the effects of specific drugs (*fī quwā'l-adwiyah al-mufradah*); and various similarly named later works are mentioned (*G.A.L.*, Suppl. 1, p. 368, No. 15; and Index).

² E. I. J. Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam*, p. 133, n. 55, points out that Fārābī's qualifications for the first ruler (*Imām*) are derived from Plato's *Republic*, 485-7A (pp. 368-70 in Jowett's tr.).

Early Muslim civilization possessed a remarkable capacity to absorb materials from many sources, and to assimilate and indeed obliterate them in a Perso-Islamic whole. *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* is a good example of the product to which this process led.

TRANSLATION

N.B. The square brackets enclose translations of passages or words which were reconstituted by Professor Humā'ī in his edition of the Persian text; in general they were found to conform in meaning with the corresponding passages or words in Dr. H. D. Isaac's recension of the Arabic text.

The round brackets enclose (i) translations of passages or words taken from the Arabic text in preference, or in addition, to the corresponding passages or words of the Persian text; and (ii) other added or conjectured words.

In the footnotes P. (H) means Professor Humā'ī's edition of the Persian text; Ar. (I) means Dr. H. D. Isaac's recension of the Bodleian Arabic manuscript; Ar. (H) means the Arabic edition printed at Cairo in 1317/1900 and used by Professor Humā'ī; and Ar. (Camb.) means the Cambridge Arabic manuscript Qq. 231.

Particulars of persons appearing in the book are given in the Biographical Index. For particulars and bibliographies of some of the subjects arising in the book reference is made in the footnotes to relevant articles in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

PART I

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Praise be to God, the Lord of All Being. Blessings and peace be upon the Chief of (God's) Envoys, Muḥammad, and upon his good and pure descendants and (the pious Muslims) who followed (him).¹

The Shaykh, the Imām, the Ornament of the Religion, Glory of the Imāms, Proof of the Faith, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad [ibn Muḥammad] al-Ghazālī,² said (these words).³

You should understand, O King of the East,⁴ that God on High has bestowed upon you abundant prosperity and that you are obliged and bound to be thankful for it. If a person is not thankful for Almighty God's gifts, those gifts will be cut off from him and at the Resurrection he will suffer shame and disgrace for his offence. To men of understanding, riches which cease at death have no value; for even though a man's life be long, of what use will they be when it comes to an end? Noah, God bless him, lived a thousand years, but since he died five thousand years have passed; [and it seems as if he had never existed]. The wealth which has value is that which is enduring and eternal. (God's) enduring gift is faith, which is the eternal wealth.

¹ *al-Tābi'ūn*; i.e. those who knew men who had known Muḥammad. Ar. (I) continues as follows: 'I have been requested by important persons of the first rank to render this book, Counsel to Kings, from the Persian language into Arabic. I have adhered to its plan and rendered it in accordance with its structure and form, without making any change in its content and character; and I have endeavoured to amplify its expressions and clarify its allusions, with the object of facilitating the use of its arguments and imparting to men's minds a close understanding of it in the (full) measure of its rhetoric and eloquence. I have also translated the Persian verses cited by the author into Arabic verses, in such a way as to make their meanings clear and indicate the points and morals in them. For my shortcomings I apologize profoundly; as I am not one of the riders on this course, may the noble champions among them overlook my faults and may the scholars forgive my inadequacy. If any person finds a defect in the language (of the book) and suppresses it, or comes across a lapse and changes it, he will be amply recompensed and favourably remembered. From God alone comes success; in Him have I trusted and to Him do I turn.'

² Ar. (I) adds: *raḥamahu 'llāh*, i.e. 'the late'.

³ Ar. (I) adds: 'addressing the late Sulṭān Muḥammad ibn Malikshāh'.

⁴ Ar. (I): 'O Sulṭān of the World, King of the East and West.' See Introduction, pp. xvi-xviii.

God on High has granted you this gift and sown the seed of faith in your pure and steadfast heart; but He has left the tending of the seed to you. There is a saying that this seed may be nourished with the water of justice and piety until it grows into a tree whose roots reach the bowels of the earth and whose branches reach the clouds of the sky. As God said in his book (Q. xiv. 29), 'Have not you seen how God coins a simile—a good word, like a good tree, (with) its roots firm and its branches in the sky?' But when its branches and roots are not fully developed, there is a danger that at the last breath the tree of faith may be blown down by the wind of death, and that the slave will then—God forbid—come before the Lord with no faith.

You should understand, O King, that this tree of faith has ten roots and ten branches, its roots being the beliefs of the heart and its branches the actions of the body.¹ (Your servant) who invokes the True God on your behalf, having received encouragement and acceptance from the High Council (of the Kingdom),² gives particulars of these ten roots and ten branches in order that the King of Islām³ may set about tending this tree.

If this is to be done properly, you must on one day of the week attend to God's business and devote your thoughts to Him, namely on Friday, which is the festival of the Believers.⁴ During this day there is an hour,⁵ in which every person who comes to God with a (sincere) intention⁶ will be granted his requests. How would it be if you devoted one day in every week to God's service? If you owned a slave and told him, 'Work one day a week in my service, and I will overlook your offences on the other six days', and if he refused to do so, how would you regard and treat him? Yet he is not your creature, and he is only your slave in a metaphorical sense, while you are God's slave and creature in reality. Why do not you see fit to render such service yourself?

¹ Ar. (I): 'Its root is the belief in Paradise and its branch is the practice of the pillars'—i.e. the Five Pillars of Islām, profession of faith, prayer, fasting, almsgiving, and pilgrimage.

² *Majlis-i A'lā*; Ar. (I), *al-Majlis al-'Ālī*; cf. p. 104, note 2, below.

³ *Malik-i Islām*. Ar. (I), 'Sulṭān of the World'; cf. p. 3, note 4.

⁴ Cf. Ghazālī, *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, tr. in Watt, *The Faith and Practice of al-Ghazālī*, p. 125. (H. D. Isaacs.)

⁵ Ibid.; cf. also *Ihyā'*, Book IV, chapter v, and Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ii. 190 (*Sā'at al-Ijābah*). (H. D. Isaacs.)

⁶ *bi-dīl*. Ar. (I), *bi-nīyah*. *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, art. *Niya*. The ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*) is inefficacious without a declaration of sincere intention (*nīyah*), expressed audibly or mentally. According to Ghazālī, *Ihyā'* (Book VIII, chapter i), it is required for other ritual acts also, but this is disputed. (H. D. Isaacs.)

On the night before Friday you must form a sincere resolve¹ to fast, and if (in addition) you have the power to do so on Thursday, it is better. On Friday, rise early, wash and dress yourself in clothes which have the three characteristics of being: (i) lawful, (ii) appropriate for the prayer, and (iii) not of silk.² In summer they may be of *Dabīqī*,³ *qaṣab*,⁴ lace⁵ or linen, in winter of fur,⁶ (cotton)⁷ or wool.⁸ Clothing which does not have these characteristics is unacceptable to the True God. Perform the dawn prayer in company, (but) until the sun rises do not speak (to other men) and do not turn your face away from the direction (of God's house at Mecca).⁹ Keep on reciting (God's) epithets¹⁰ and say one thousand times, 'There is no god but God and Muḥammad is God's Apostle.' When the sun rises, order a reader to read this book to you aloud, and let him read it again every Friday until it abides in your memory, and when he finishes reading this book to you, perform a prayer of four prostrations¹¹ and repeat (God's) epithets until noon. The reward for this is very great on Fridays. Afterwards, whether you resume your seat on the throne or remain in solitude,¹² keep on saying, 'O God, bless Muḥammad and Muḥammad's family';¹³ and after the noon prayer, keep on saying, 'I ask forgiveness of God and turn penitently to Him.' Give away as much as you can in alms, and pass this one day of the week attending to God's business. If you do so, then during the rest of the week God on High will look after your business.

¹ *Niyat*. See preceding note.

² Q. vii. 25 ff. *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Ṣalāt*, p. 493. Silk garments were forbidden (as overluxurious) to men, but not to women; they were nevertheless worn by 'Abbāsīd Caliphs and other Muslim rulers, as earlier by the Sāsānīd kings.

³ *E.I.* (2), art. *Dabīq*. A linen cloth, often interwoven with gold thread or silk, from *Dabīq*, a former city in Egypt.

⁴ A lustrous cloth, possibly interwoven with gold. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, p. 331.

⁵ *Tūrī*, corrected by H. from *Tūzī*. Ar. (I) has *Nūrī*.

⁶ *Khazz*, in Persian 'fur'; but in Arabic, 'floss silk or silk interwoven with wool' (Dozy, op. cit., p. 437).

⁷ Thus in Ar. (I); P. (H) has *dibā*, 'brocade', but brocade is of silk.

⁸ Ar. (I): 'Byzantine (*Rūmī*) wool'.

⁹ *Qiblah*. Cf. Q. ii. 136–45; *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Qibla*.

¹⁰ *Tasbīḥī mī-gūyī*, i.e. with the help of the rosary. *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Subḥa* and also art. *Allāh*.

¹¹ *Rak'at*, a unit of prayer in which there are three postures: standing, genuflexion, and prostration. *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Ṣalāt*, pp. 493–4.

¹² *Khalwat*, i.e. solitary religious meditation. Cf. *Ihyā'*, Book XXII, section xi; also *Ihyā'*, Book XVI, on '*uzlah* (retreat from worldly life). (H. D. Isaacs.)

¹³ *Āl-i Muḥammad*; likewise in Ar. (I). This would include the 'Abbāsīds as well as the 'Alids.

ON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CREED, WHICH ARE THE ROOTS OF FAITH¹

First principle

You should understand, O King, that you are a creature and that you have a Creator who is the Creator of the entire universe. All that exists in the universe is from Him, and He is one, for He has no equal. He has always existed, for His being has no commencement; and He will always exist, for His being has no end. His existence since eternity and in perpetuity² is axiomatic, because non-existence cannot be predicated³ of Him and because His existence is of Himself.⁴ He needs no cause, but there is nothing which does not need Him;⁵ while His being is through Himself, the being of all things is through Him.

¹ This section gives a simplified but lucid statement of Sunnite doctrines in the form of a creed ('*aqidah*'); cf. A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge, 1932, and *E.I.*, 2nd ed., art. '*Aqida*' with bibliography. Book II, chapter i, of Ghazālī's *Ihya'* consists of a creed in two parts, concerning God and His attributes, and concerning Muḥammad's prophethood and teachings as to punishment in the tomb, resurrection, and judgement; chapter iii of the same Book presents the creed in much greater detail under four headings of ten articles each, with supporting arguments and refutations of Mu'tazilite opinions. Translations by D. B. Macdonald in *The Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, New York and London, 1903, and by H. Bauer, in *Die Dogmatik al-Ghazālī's*, Halle, 1912. The first part of *Ihya'*, Book II, chapter i, appears to be the source of the creed of Ghazālī translated by S. Ockley (seventeenth-eighteenth cent.) and reproduced as appendix i in Whinfield and Qazwini's translation of Jāmi's *Lawā'ih*, London, 1906, R.A.S. (Oriental Translation Fund, N.S. xvi). Summary by G. H. Bousquet *et al.*, *Ihya' Ouloum ed-Din, ou Vivification des Science de la Foi*, Paris, 1955, pp. 42-43 and 46-50.

The creed here presented is substantially and to a large extent textually identical with the creed found in the first section of the first 'Pillar' of *Kimiyā-yi Sa'adat*. (Harold Spencer.)

In general Ghazālī follows the anti-Mu'tazilite line of Ash'arī; cf. *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Mu'tazila*; *E.I.* (2), arts. *Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal* and *Ash'arī*; R. J. McCarthy, *The Theology of al-Ash'arī*, Beyrouth, 1953, with appendix iv containing two creeds of Ash'arī, tr. from his *Maqālāt al-Islāmīyīn* and his *al-Ibānah 'an Usūl al-Diyānah* respectively. Cf. also A. J. Arberry, *Revelation and Reason in Islam*, London, 1957, and W. Montgomery Watt, *Free Will and Predestination in Islam*, London, 1948.

² *dar azal u abad*: *azal*, 'eternity without beginning'; *abad*, 'eternity without end'. 'Axiomatic': *wājib*.

³ *rāḥ nist*, i.e. there is no 'way' for it; likewise Ar. (I), *lā . . . sabīl*.

⁴ *būd-i way bi-khvud ast*: Ar. (I) *huwa mawjūd bi-dhātihī*. Cf. Wensinck, op. cit., p. 212.

⁵ Cf. McCarthy, op. cit., p. 241, and the creeds of Ash'arī from *Maqālāt*, art.

Second principle: of the Purity¹ of the True God (sacred are His Names)

You should understand that He has no face, body or form.² His descending into any (sort of) form is inconceivable. Size, manner, and quality cannot be predicated of Him, because He resembles nothing and is resembled by nothing. Anything that can be thought, imagined, or fancied concerning His size or quality is far removed (from Him).³ He is not in the same category as any created being. Similarly, He is neither in nor on any place, being intrinsically neither occupier nor occupied.⁴ Everything existing in the universe is under His throne,⁵ and the throne is under His power and subject to Him. The throne is not that which holds Him up; on the contrary, the throne and its bearers are all upheld by His favour and power.⁶ Before He created the throne, He had no limitations or need of space; and since creating it, He retains the same attributes that have been His since eternity.⁷ Change and alteration cannot be predicated of Him and His attributes. He is pure and far removed⁸ from the attributes of His creatures. In the next world he will be seen without 'how or what';⁹ for that vision is not of the same nature as vision in this world.

21, and *al-Ibānah*, art. 22. (H. D. Isaacs.) This was a favourite theme of the Ṣūfīs, e.g. Ḥāfīz in A. J. Arberry, ed., *Fifty Poems from Ḥāfīz*, No. 3, verse 4, p. 39: *Zi 'ishq-i nā-tamām-i mā jamāl-i Yār mustagnī 'st—ba-āb u rang u khāl u khaṭṭ chih ḥājat Rū-yi Zibā-rā*—'The Friend has no need of our imperfect love.'

¹ *Pākī*; Ar. (I) *Tanzīh*, i.e. 'removal' or 'exemption' (from human limitations); the orthodox concept evolved by ibn Ḥanbal and Ash'arī in opposition to the popular *Tashbīh* or *Tajsim* (i.e. anthropomorphism) and the rationalizing *Ta'ṭīl* of the Mu'tazilites (i.e. defining God in terms of what He is not and treating Him as purely abstract). *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Tashbīh*; Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 90, 92, 94, 207 f., 231, 234, 245; McCarthy, op. cit., pp. 188, 190, 202. (H.D.I.)

² Cf. Ash'arī, *Ibānah*, quoted in McCarthy, op. cit., pp. 237-8. (H.D.I.)

³ *Munazzah*; cf. McCarthy, op. cit., pp. 9 and 126-7. (H.D.I.)

⁴ Ar. (I): 'because space would confine Him'. This was originally a Mu'tazilite view, and Ash'arī rejected it, but it was later adopted by his school and became orthodox (Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 73 and 116 f.) (H.D.I.)

⁵ '*Arsh*, cf. Q. ii. 254; xxxviii, 33; *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Kursī*.

⁶ Concerning the throne, Ghazālī differs from Ash'arī (Wensinck, op. cit., p. 116). (H.D.I.)

⁷ Wensinck, op. cit., p. 188. (H.D.I.)

⁸ *Pāk u munazzah*.

⁹ *Bi-chūn wa chigūnah*; Ar. (I), *bilā mithl wa shibh*. This is the orthodox view as opposed both to anthropomorphism and to the Mu'tazilite view that 'seeing God' means 'knowing God'; Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 193-4, and McCarthy, op. cit., pp. 45-52, 172, 214. (H.D.I.)

Third principle: of God's Omnipotence¹

He is powerful and mighty, and moreover resembles nothing. He has power over all things and his might is complete; for impotence, inadequacy, and weakness cannot be predicated of Him. Whatever He has wished to do, and whatever He will wish to do, He does. The eight heavens² the seven earths, the throne,³ the stool,⁴ and all existing things are in the grip of His power and in none other's hand but His.⁵

Fourth principle: of (God's) omniscience⁶

He is cognizant of everything that is knowable, and His knowledge encompasses all things. From the heights above to the soil below, nothing proceeds without His knowledge; for all things proceed from Him and are made apparent by His power. The number of sand-grains in the desert, leaves on the trees, thoughts in men's hearts⁷ or molecules in the air is as visible to His knowledge as is the number of the (stars in the) heavens.

Fifth principle: of (God's) will⁸

Everything there is in the universe exists through His will and pleasure. Things few or many, small or great, good or evil—profit or loss, imperfection (or perfection), distress or ease, sickness or health—occur solely because they have been predestined and willed, judged, and decreed by Him.⁹ If all the humans, *jinn*s,¹⁰ devils¹¹ and angels¹² in the universe joined (in an attempt) to move,

¹ *Qudrat*. Cf. McCarthy, op. cit., p. 238, and creeds of Ash'arī (*Maqālāt*, art. 14; *Ibānah*, art. 14). (H.D.I.)

² Ar. (I) has 'seven heavens'. Cf. Q. ii, 27, and also lxxviii, 12 ('seven strongholds'—*shidād*), and xxiii, 7 ('seven paths'—*tarā'iq*). Jewish tradition also mentions seven heavens, cf. A. I. Katsh, *Judaism in Islām*, New York, 1954, pp. 23–25. (H.D.I.) But 'at a later period Paradise was represented as a pyramid or cone in eight storeys; it was given one more storey than Hell as it was believed that the elect would be greater in number than the damned' (*Shorter E.I.*, art. *Djanna*). There was a Šafavid palace in Isfahān called '*Hašt Bihišt*' ('Eight Paradises').

³ *Arsh*.

⁴ *Kursī*.

⁵ Cf. McCarthy, op. cit., p. 99. (H.D.I.)

⁶ *Ilm*. Cf. McCarthy, op. cit., pp. 16–19, 238, 253. (H.D.I.)

⁷ Ar. (I), 'drops of rain'. ⁸ In Ar. (I) the paragraph is thus headed.

⁹ The Mu'tazilites denied that God could will evil or folly. *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Mu'tazila*, p. 426; Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 81, 144 f.; McCarthy, op. cit., pp. 33–44; Watt, *Free Will and Predestination*, pp. 158–9. (H.D.I.)

¹⁰ *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Djinn*, with Qur'ānic references.

¹¹ *Shayāṭīn*. *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Shayṭān*.

¹² *Malā'ikah*. Art. in *Shorter E.I.*

fix, diminish, or increase a single molecule of the universe, they would be too weak to be able to do so unless He so willed. Whatever He wills comes into being, and nothing that He has not willed exists.¹ No thing or person can avert this. Everything that is, was or will be has been predestined and planned by Him.

Sixth principle: of (God's) seeing and hearing²

Just as He is cognizant of all that is knowable, so too is He seer and hearer of all that is visible and audible. The near and the far are equally within His hearing; the bright and the dark are equally within His sight. The sound of the foot of an ant walking on a dark night is not beyond His hearing, nor are the colour and shape of a worm below the ground beneath His sight.³ His actions are not done with tools or implements.⁴

Seventh principle: of the Lord's speech⁵

His command is valid and obligatory for all creatures. Everything that He proclaims, and (all) His promises and threats, are real.⁶ His word is His command. Just as He is knowing, powerful, seeing and hearing, so too is He capable of speech; but His speech is not with palate, tongue or mouth.⁷ The Torah, Gospels, Psalms,⁸ Qur'ān and Books of the Prophets are all His word. His word is (one of) His attribute(s), and all His attributes are pre-eternal,⁹ having always existed; but while words among men consist of sounds and syllables, the word of the True God on High is pure and far removed¹⁰ from this.

¹ Cf. McCarthy, op. cit., pp. 238–9, and creeds in *Maqālāt*, art. 15, and *Ibānah*, art. 16. (H.D.I.)

² Heading in P. (H), '*Fifth and Sixth Principles*'; in Ar. (I), '*Sixth Principle: of the fact that He is hearing and seeing*'.

³ Ar. (I): 'He sees the crawling of the ant in the dark night, and nothing is concealed from Him. Even the sound of the worm beneath layers of earth does not elude His hearing.'

⁴ Ar. (I): 'His hearing is divorced from the agency of any ear, nor does His sight depend on the agency of any eye, just as His knowledge does not proceed from any thought and His action does not rely on any instrument or set of tools.' The Mu'tazilites denied that God sees and hears. Cf. McCarthy, op. cit., p. 238, and creeds in *Maqālāt*, art. 13, and *Ibānah*, art. 13, also p. 171 (from Ibn Asākir). (H.D.I.) ⁵ *Kalām*. Art. in *Shorter E.I.*, pp. 210–11. ⁶ *Ḥaqq*.

⁷ Ar. (I) adds 'or teeth'. Cf. Wensinck, op. cit., p. 189. (H.D.I.)

⁸ *Tawrāt* (P. (H), *Tawriyah*), *Injil*, *Zabūr*; q.v. in *Shorter E.I.* All are mentioned in Q. as God's books.

⁹ *Qadīm* ('ancient'). Cf. Wensinck, op. cit., p. 188. (H.D.I.)

¹⁰ *Munazzah*. Cf. Wensinck, op. cit., p. 189; also above, p. 7, note 1.

Eighth principle: of the Lord's actions

All that exists in the universe is created by Him, and no person shares with Him in His creative activity, because the Creator is One and has no partner.¹ All created things, (even) distress, poverty, weakness, and ignorance, have been created by Him justly.² Injustice is intrinsically impossible in Him, because the unjust man is one who takes possession of the property of another, and taking possession of the property of another is not possible in Him; for there is no proprietor besides Him.³ All things that are, have been and can be are His property, and He (alone) is the proprietor, without equal and without partner. No person, therefore, has any (part in the) 'how' and 'why' of His creative activity;⁴ on the contrary, in what He does no person has any part, unless it is acquiescence and resignation.

Ninth principle: of the world to come

The universe which He created has been produced by Him from two sorts (of substance): soul and (bodily) form.⁵ He made the bodily form the abode of the human soul, so that it may take from this world the provision for the world to come.⁶ For every soul He has predestined a period during which it may exist in the bodily form; and the end of that period will be its term,⁷ which does not admit of extension or reduction. When the term comes, He separates the soul from the body; but when (the deceased) is laid in the tomb, He lets it pass together with the bodily form⁸ so that (the deceased) may answer the interrogation by Munkar and Nakir.⁹

¹ Cf. Q. xxxvii. 94, 'God created you and what you make'. McCarthy, op. cit., p. 239 (creeds of Ash'ari in *Maqālāt*, art. 17, and *Ibānah*, art. 18). (H.D.I.)

² In opposition to the Mu'tazilite view of God's justice ('*adl*').

³ Ar. (I) has: 'the Creator only disposes of His own property when there is no other proprietor besides Him'.

⁴ Ar. (I): 'No person may (raise) objections (*i'tirāḍ*) against Him over "how much" and "how".'

⁵ *Jān u kālud*; Ar. (I), *shakhṣ wa rūh*.

⁶ *Zād*; a favourite Ṣūfī concept. Cf. Q. xxix. 19; Q. ii. 193, 'the best provision (*khayra zādīn*) is piety'.

⁷ *Ajal*. E.I. (2), art. *Adjal*; Wensinck, op. cit., p. 267; McCarthy, op. cit., p. 251 (*Maqālāt*, art. 54; *Ibānah*, art. 52). (H.D.I.)

⁸ Ar. (I), 'his soul is returned to his body'; cf. Wensinck, op. cit., p. 195. (H.D.I.)

⁹ Two interrogating angels. *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Munkar and Nakir*; Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 164-5; McCarthy, op. cit., pp. 244 and 250 (*Maqālāt*, arts. 28 and 47; *Ibānah*, arts. 30 and 45). It seems that the Mu'tazilites denied or allegorized

These are two persons¹ who will question him about God and the Prophet. If he is at a loss (to answer), they will place him in the tomb of torment and fill the tomb for him with snakes and scorpions. At the Resurrection, which is the Day of Reckoning and Retribution, (God) will again let the soul pass together with the bodily form. He will arouse all (men), and each person will see his deeds written in a book in such a way that he is reminded of them all; (God) will acquaint him with the degree of his obedience or disobedience through a balance fitted (to weigh) his deeds.² Thereafter He will command them all to pass over (the bridge called) the *Ṣirāt*.³ The *Ṣirāt* is thinner than a hair and sharper than a sword-blade. Whoever in this world has been on the straight path⁴ will cross the *Ṣirāt* with ease; but whoever has not known or followed that straight path will not find his way across the *Ṣirāt* and will fall into Hell.⁵ All will be brought to the *Ṣirāt* and questioned about everything that they have done. The truthful will be called upon (to prove) the reality of their truthfulness and honesty; the hypocrites and dissemblers will be exposed and disgraced. One group will be reckoned severely, another mildly; and another will go to Paradise⁶ without reckoning. Finally, the whole lot of the unbelievers will be sent to Hell whence they will never obtain release, while the obedient and the Muslims⁷ will be carried to Paradise. Disobedient sinners⁸ will be sent to Hell; but any who obtain the intercession⁹ of Prophets, Imāms,¹⁰ '*ulamā*' or saints¹¹ will be granted forgiveness. One who has no intercessor will be carried

this notion, which is not plainly mentioned in Q. (H.D.I.) Cf. *Iḥyā*, Book XL, chapter vii (where the serpents and scorpions in the tomb are said to symbolize ninety-nine major and various minor vices of the human soul).

¹ Ar. (I), 'mighty and terrible persons'.

² *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Ḳiyāma*; Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 167-74; McCarthy, op. cit., p. 244 (*Maqālāt*, art. 28; *Ibānah*, art. 30). (H.D.I.)

³ Cf. Q. xxxvii. 24; *ṣirāt al-jahīm*, 'the bridge to hell'. *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Ḳiyāma*; Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 169, 203, 232-3; McCarthy, op. cit., p. 244 (creeds in *Maqālāt*, art. 28, and *Ibānah*, art. 30). (H.D.I.)

⁴ *Rāh-i rāst* . . . *va ṣirāt-i mustaqīm*; from the *Fātiḥah*, Q. i. 6.

⁵ *Dūzakh*; Ar. (I), *Jahannam*. *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Djahannam*.

⁶ *Bihisht*; Ar. (I), *jannah* ('the garden'). *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Djanna*.

⁷ Ar. (I), 'obedient Muslims'.

⁸ Muslim sinners appear to be meant; cf. Wensinck, op. cit., p. 171. (H.D.I.)

⁹ *Shafā'at*. *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Shafa'a*; Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 85, 180, 194 f. The concept was alien to Mu'tazilite thought; Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 61 f. (H.D.I.)

¹⁰ Missing in Ar. (I).

¹¹ *Buzurgān-i dīn*; Ar. (I), *al-akābiru min al-ṣūḥabā*.

to Hell and punished in the measure of his sin, but will ultimately be carried to Paradise if he has brought the True Faith intact to the other world (please God he may).¹

Tenth principle: of the Prophet, blessings upon him

Since God on High has predestined that some of a man's actions and circumstances² will cause him happiness and others unhappiness, and since no man can himself recognize which these actions and circumstances are, God on High in the exercise of His favour and mercy created angels and commanded them to disclose this secret to persons whose happiness He had determined since eternity, namely Prophets. To them he gave messages, which He (thus) transmitted to His creatures, in order that (the Prophets) should acquaint them with the paths of happiness and unhappiness, whereby no person might have any longer an argument against the God on High. Then He sent to His creatures the last of them all, our (own) Apostle,³ whose Prophethood He brought to such a degree of perfection that no room remained for further excellence. For this reason He made him the Seal of the Prophets, after whom there will be no prophet, and commanded all His creatures, both *jinn*s and humans, to follow him. He made him the Chief of all Prophets, and made (his) Companions and friends the best of (all) companions of prophets. Blessings be upon him and the other Prophets and Emissaries, and upon his virtuous, pure Descendants and Companions; upon them be peace, great peace.

THE BRANCHES OF THE TREE OF FAITH

You should understand, O King, that the root of faith consists of what exists in the heart by way of knowledge and belief; and that the branch of faith consists of what proceeds from the seven limbs⁴ by way of just and pious action. If the branch is withered,

¹ Cf. Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 61, 85, 192; McCarthy, op. cit., pp. 242-3 (*Maqālāt*, art. 24). (H.D.I.)

² Ar. (I) adds: 'acquisition and works' (*iktisābahu wa a'mālahu*); i.e. man 'acquires for himself' the actions which have been predestined for him. *Shorter E.I.*, arts. *Kasb*, *Qadar*, *Qadā'*; Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 92, 191, 213-14, 245; McCarthy, op. cit., pp. 242-3 (creed in *Maqālāt*, art. 24). (H.D.I.)

³ Ar. (I) adds: 'Muhammad, whom He made a herald of good news and a warner, and . . .'

⁴ According to Ghazālī's *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, tr. in W. Montgomery Watt,

this is a sign that the root is weak and that at the moment of death (the tree) will not stand firm but will fall; for action by the body is the mark of faith. Actions which are roots of faith are these; that you refrain from everything that is prohibited,¹ and that you perform every duty that is prescribed.² They are in two categories: (i) between you and the True God³ on High, such as prayer, fasting, [pilgrimage and almsgiving], and abstention from wine and from unlawful acts; and (ii) between you and mankind, namely treating the subjects justly and keeping your hand from unjust oppression.⁴ The fundamental principle is that in any matter between you and the True God you should observe the same obedience as you would deem right that your servants observe towards you; and that in any matter between you and mankind you should treat people in a way in which, if you were a subject and another were Sulṭān, you would deem right that you yourself be treated.⁵ You should understand that in matters between you and the True God pardon is quite likely, but that anything involving injustice to mankind will not in any circumstances be overlooked at the Resurrection; the danger therefrom is thus very great. No Sulṭāns except those who treat the subjects justly can escape these dangers. Such being the case, it is most important that we should explain the principles of justice, in order that (His Majesty) may know how justice and equity will be demanded of him at the Resurrection. We shall indicate the principles of justice and of the equitable treatment of subjects under ten heads.⁶

The Faith and Practice of al-Ghazālī, pp. 132 ff., these are the eyes, ears, tongue, stomach, genitals, hands and feet. (H.D.I.)

¹ *Harām*.

² *Fariḍah*. Cf. Wensinck, op. cit., p. 134. In his *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, loc. cit., p. 131, G. describes avoidance of the prohibited as more important than performance of the prescribed. (H.D.I.)

³ *Haqq*. One of the epithets of God in the Qur'ān, where it probably means 'the real God' as opposed to the false (*bāṭil*) gods of the heathen. Used by some Sūfis with the pantheistic implication of 'God, the only reality'.

⁴ Islāmic law distinguishes between '*ibādāt*' (acts of worship) and '*mu'āmalāt*' (transactions with fellow men). In his *Ihyā'*, iv. 15, G. classifies sins as against (i) God, (ii) fellow men, (iii) self.

⁵ Cf. *Matthew*, vii. 12.

⁶ The ten principles or 'Branches' are evidently based on the ten 'rules for holders of authority' given in *Kimiyā-yi Sa'ādāt*, 'Pillar' II, section 10 (but not in *Ihyā'*). Their order in K.S. is as follows: (N. ul-M., Roman figures; K.S., Arabic figures): i (7), ii (8), iii (9), iv (10), v (1), vi (2), vii (3), viii (4), ix (5), x (6). Most but not all of the anecdotes and sayings also come from K.S. (Harold Spencer.)

First principle

This is that (the ruler) should first of all understand the importance, and also the danger, of the authority entrusted to him.¹ In authority there is great blessing, since he who exercises it righteously obtains unsurpassed happiness; but if any (ruler) fails to do so, he incurs torment surpassed only by the torment for unbelief. The proof of the importance of this blessing is that God's Apostle said: 'One day of just rule by an equitable Sulṭān is more meritorious than sixty² years of continual worship.' He also stated: 'On the Resurrection day no shade or shelter will remain except the shade and shelter of the True God on High. [In this] shade will be seven persons: (i) the just Sulṭān, (ii) the young man who grows up in the worship of God, (iii) the man who lives in the bazaar but whose heart is in the mosque, (iv) two men who make friends with each other for God's sake, (v) the man from whose eyes tears rain down when he remembers God and is alone, (vi) the man who is sought after by a beautiful and wealthy woman but tells (her) 'I fear God', and (vii) the man who gives charity with his right hand in such a way that his left hand does not know of it.'³ The Apostle declared that the man dearest to God on High is the just Sulṭān, and that the man who is most hateful and contemptible in the sight of the True God is the unjust Sulṭān. He also stated: 'By God, in the hand of Whose power lies Muḥammad's soul, all actions of the just Sulṭān affecting his subjects are carried to heaven every day; and each prayer of his is worth seventy thousand prayers.' Such being the case, there is no greater blessing than God's grant to a person of the office of ruler and Sulṭān, whereby one hour of his life is raised (to be equivalent) to the whole life of any other person; but if he shows no appreciation of this blessing and gives himself over to tyranny and passion, there is a terrible risk that God on High will count him an enemy. The gravity of the danger of authority is attested by this story told by Ibn 'Abbās:

'One day God's Apostle came and took hold of the ring of the door of the Ka'bah.⁴ Inside the edifice of the Ka'bah was a group of

¹ *Wilāyat*, i.e. authority entrusted by God. *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Wilāya*.

² Ar. (I), seventy; *Kīmiyā-yi Sa'ādat*, sixty; *Iḥyā'* seventy. (Harold Spencer.) These sayings cannot be authentic, as Muḥammad would never have used the word *Sulṭān*.

³ Cf. *Matthew*, vi. 3; *Der Babylonische Talmud*, Leipzig, 1906, vol. vi, *Shabbath*, 31a. (H.D.I.)

⁴ The Shrine of Mecca, containing the magic black stone.

Quraysh. He told them that the Imāms and Sulṭāns would be of Quraysh as long as they should do three things: if asked for mercy, show it; if asked for a judgement, render it justly; and if their word were given, keep it. Should any one of them not do these things, the curse of God and (God's) angels and all (God's) slaves would rain down upon him, and neither his obligatory nor his (supererogatory) acts¹ of worship would be acceptable to God on High.'

The Apostle once said: 'There are three persons on whom God will not look at the Resurrection day: the Sulṭān who is a liar, the old woman who is an adulteress² and the *darvīsh* who is a boaster and braggart.' He told his Companions:³ 'The territories to the east and west will soon fall to (your) invasion. You and all governors⁴ of those territories will be in Hell-fire, except for any who fear God, live frugally, follow the path of piety and turn to Him in penitence.' He also said that no slave of God⁵ who has been entrusted with subjects by the Lord can cheat them and neglect advice without being debarred by God from Paradise. Other sayings of God's Apostle are these: 'If any man is granted authority over the Muslims and does not look upon them as he would look upon members of his own household, tell him that he will get his place in Hell.' 'Two persons in my community will be denied my intercession; the tyrant, and the innovator⁶ who practises such exaggeration⁷ in religion that it goes beyond the limit.' 'The harshest torment at the Resurrection day will be for the unjust Sulṭān.' ['There are some persons] with whom God is angry, and whether or not He chooses to vent His wrath upon them in this world, their resting place will be Hell-fire: (i) the prince of a people who receives his due from them, and instead of personally according them fair treatment, protecting them against injustice and maintaining impartiality between the strong and the weak, pronounces judgement arbitrarily; (ii) the man who does not enjoin his wife and children to

¹ *Fariḍah wa sunnat* (custom). Ar. (I), *farḍan wa naflan* (supererogation).

² Ar. (I), 'old man who is an adulterer'.

³ *Ṣaḥābah*. Art. in *Shorter E.I.*

⁴ *Āmilān*: Ar. (I), 'ummāl'. The word 'āmil ('agent') was used in Umayyad times to mean provincial governor, and in 'Abbāsid times to mean the financial agent or chief revenue collector in a province or district. Art. in *E.I.* (2).

⁵ i.e. human being.

⁶ *Mubtadi'*. *Bid'ah* ('innovation') is the contrary of *Sunnah* ('custom'), and there has been a tendency in orthodox (Sunnite) Islām to regard the former as harmful. *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Bid'a*.

⁷ *Ghulūw*, a term usually applied to the beliefs of extreme Shi'ites.

obey the True God, require them to learn the precepts of the religion, and care about the source of the food he gives them; (iii) the man who engages a labourer and does not discharge his debt and pay the full wage; (iv) the man who acts unjustly in the matter of his wife's dowry.¹

One day 'Umar was about to say the prayer² at a funeral, (but) a man came up and said the prayer then and there. When they had buried the deceased, the man put his hand into the grave and said: 'O Lord God, if You torture him, it will be because he has rebelled against You; if You show mercy to him, (it will be because) he needs it. Happy are you, O (dead) man, who never were prince, overseer, scribe, bailiff or tax gatherer!'³ Then he vanished from their sight. 'Umar bade them search for him, but they did not find him; and 'Umar said that it had been Khidr. The Apostle once stated, 'Woe to princes, woe to functionaries, woe to treasurers.'⁴ These are persons who at the Resurrection will wish that they had been hanged from the sky by their own curls and that they had never held office.' The Apostle also stated that all who have been granted authority⁵ will without exception be led in on the Resurrection day with their arms manacled;⁶ if they have been righteous, they will be set free, but if not, a further manacle will be added.

'Umar⁷ said: 'Woe betide the judge⁸ on earth from the Judge in Heaven on the day when he sees Him, unless he be one who awards justice and performs his duty aright, not judging arbitrarily or favouring relatives but giving sentence in fear (of God) and hope (of salvation); one who makes God's decree⁹ the mirror which he holds before his eyes and in accordance with which he passes judgement.'

God's Apostle stated that on the Resurrection day holders of

¹ *Kābīn*; Ar. (I), *ṣadāq*. *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Mahr*.

² *Shorter E.I.*, arts. *Djīnāza* and *Ṣalāt* (p. 497).

³ *Amīr*; *arīf*; *kātib*; *'awwān*; *jābī*. Likewise in Ar. (I) with *'awwānī* for *'awwān*. An *'awwānī* was an armed bodyguard in the service of kings, revenue officers, &c.; cf. p. 56 below, note 2.

⁴ *Aminān*, i.e. custodians of the property of others, including public funds. Ar. (I) has *'awwānīyah* (pl. of *'awwānī*; see preceding note).

⁵ Ar. (I) adds: 'over ten persons'.

⁶ Cf. Q. v. 69, *ghullat aydihim* ('their—i.e. the Jews'—hands have been manacled').

⁷ Ar. (I): 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.'

⁸ *Dāvar*; Ar. (I), *qāḍī*. *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Qāḍī*. Pious Muslims were traditionally reluctant to accept the office of *qāḍī*.

⁹ *Hukm*; Ar. (I) *kitāb*, i.e. the Qur'ān.

authority will be brought in and told, 'You were shepherds¹ of my sheep.' (One of them will be asked), 'Why did you award a penalty and inflict a punishment on so-and-so in excess of what I bade² you?' He will reply, 'O Lord God, in wrath because they were offending against You'; and he will be told, 'Why should your wrath exceed Mine?' Another will be asked, 'Why did you inflict a punishment falling short of what I bade you?' He will reply, 'O Lord God, I did so out of compassion'; and he will be told, 'Why should you be more compassionate than I am?' Then God on High will order them to be shown the corners of Hell.

Ḥudhayfah (ibn al-Yamān) used to say, 'I never praise any holder of authority, whether virtuous or wicked.' When asked why, he replied that it was because he had heard God's Apostle declare: 'On the Resurrection day, all holders of authority will be brought in, whether unjust or just. All will be stationed on the (bridge called) *Ṣirāt*,³ and God on High will inspire the *Ṣirāt* to shake them off in one sharp shake; for there will not be a single one among them who has not judged unjustly, taken a bribe when trying a case, or lent his ear overmuch to one contestant. All will fall off the *Ṣirāt*, and all will go down to Hell for seventy years, at the end of which time they will reach (their final) resting place.'

It is related in the Traditions⁴ that David used to go out at night and ask all whom he met their secret opinion about David's character. On one occasion Gabriel came up to him in the form of a man. David put the same question to him, and he replied, 'David is a good man, except that he gets his living from the Public Treasury⁵ and not from the toil of his own hands.' David then went into the *mihrab*⁶ and wept, saying, 'O Lord God, teach me a trade so that I may live by the toil of my own hands.' Then God on High taught him the trade of armourer.

'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb used to substitute for his own night-watchman and go out on the beat, so that if he saw anything amiss

¹ *Shabānān*; Ar. (I), *ru'āt*. The word for 'subjects', *ra'āyā*, means literally 'flocks'; A. K. S. Lambton, *Theory of Kingship*, in the *Islamic Quarterly*, i, 1954, p. 49. Ar. (I) adds after this: 'and the treasurers of My property on earth'.

² i.e. in the Qur'ān. In P. (H) the royal 'We' is used.

³ Cf. p. 11 above.

⁴ *Khabar*. See Introduction, p. lvii.

⁵ *Bayt al-Māl*. Art. in *E.I.* (2).

⁶ This word generally means a niche in the mosque indicating the *qiblah* (direction of prayer). In Q., however, it appears to mean 'palace' or 'temple', or part thereof; xxxviii. 20, and xxxiv. 13, also xix. 12. *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Masjdīd*, 2c, p. 343.

he might have it attended to. 'If a mangy sheep',¹ he said, 'were to be left by the side of an (irrigation) ditch and not rubbed with ointment, I would fear lest I be questioned about it on the Resurrection day.'² (Consider, O Sulṭān, how 'Umar, with his circumspection and sense of justice—and no man has ever attained to his degree of piety and steadfastness—used to take careful thought and stand in awe of the terrors of the Resurrection; while you, on the other hand, have been sitting heedlessly, careless of the circumstances of your subjects and taking no thought for the people under your charge. 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar and a group of his kinsfolk said: 'We used to pray to God that He would let us see 'Umar in our dreams, and after twelve years I saw him. It was as though he had just bathed and had a loin-cloth tied round his waist. I asked him, "How have you found your Lord, and for what good works has He recompensed you?" "O 'Abd Allāh," he replied, "how long is it since I departed from you?" "Twelve years", I said. "Since I departed from you", he continued, "I have been in the process of being called to account, and I was afraid lest I should perish. But God is forgiving and compassionate, bountiful and generous." Such was the case of 'Umar, who during his lifetime had none of the instruments of government except his whip). The Caesar (of the Romans) sent several emissaries to observe what sort of a man this was and what sort of life he led. On arriving at Madīnah they asked, 'Where is your king?' and were answered, 'We have no king, but an *Amīr*,³ who has gone out to the city gate.' The emissaries went out to the city gate and saw him sleeping on the ground in the sun, with a whip placed beneath his head and so much sweat flowing from his brow that the ground had become moist. When they saw ('Umar) thus, their hearts were filled with great astonishment that a man in awe of whom the world's kings trembled should be sleeping in such surroundings. Then they said: 'He has ruled justly; of course he can sleep in safety. Our king has ruled unjustly; of course he is always apprehensive. We testify that your religion is the right religion, and even though this was not the purpose of our mission, we have become (inwardly) Muslim here and now. We shall return soon and (publicly) make ourselves Muslims.'

¹ Ar. (I): 'goat'.

² The next passage is found in Ar. (I) and Ar. (H), and also in the *Siyāsat-nāmah* of Niẓām al-Mulk, chapter ii, but not in P. (H).

³ i.e. *Amīr al-Mu'minīn*; the Caliphal title 'Commander of the Faithful' or 'Prince of the Believers'.

Such, then, is the danger of authority. Knowledge of this subject takes long (to acquire); but the ruler should know that he will find safety in always being with devout '*ulamā*' who will instruct him in the way of justice and keep the danger of his role fresh in his (mind).

Second principle

This is that the ruler should be always thirsting to meet devout '*ulamā*' and ask them for advice; and that he should beware of meeting '*ulamā*' with worldly ambitions who might inveigle, flatter and seek to please him in order to gain control over his terrestrial body by stealth and deceit. The devout '*ālim*' is not one who has covetous designs on the treasury, but one who gives his knowledge in just measure.

One such was Shaqīq al-Balkhī, God have mercy on him. He came into the presence of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who said, 'You are Shaqīq, the ascetic.' 'I am Shaqīq', he replied, 'but not an ascetic.' Hārūn asked him for a word of advice. 'God on High', he replied, 'has seated you in the place where the Truthful (Abū Bakr) sat, and demands from you the same truthfulness as from him. He has set you in the place of the Discerning ('Umar), and demands from you the same discernment between right and wrong as from him. He has put you in the position of ('Uthmān of) the Two Lights, and demands from you the same modesty and generosity as from him. He has placed you in the station of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālīb, and demands from you knowledge and justice such as were his.' Hārūn told him to continue. 'Yes, willingly', he replied; 'God on High owns a house called Hell, and He has made you the janitor of that house. (At the same time) He has given you three things: the Public Treasury, the sword, and the whip. He has told you to keep people out of Hell with these three things. When an indigent person comes to you, do not deny him access to the Public Funds; when a person disobeys God's commands, chastise him with the whip; and when one person wrongfully kills another, put him to death with the sword if so requested by the murdered person's executor.'² Unless you do these things, you will be foremost among the denizens of Hell, and other (rulers) will replace you.' Hārūn told him to continue (further). 'You

¹ i.e. scholar of religion. This advice accords with Ghazālī's warning against worldly '*ulamā*' in *Iḥyā*, Book I (on Knowledge), chapter vi (on Disadvantages of Knowledge).

² Alternatively, the next of kin may forgive the murderer or claim blood-money (*diyyah*) as compensation. *Shorter E.I.*, arts. *Ḳatl*, *Ḳiṣās*, *Ḍiya*.

are a fountain,' he replied, 'and the other officials' (who help you to govern) the world are the streams (which flow from it). If the fountain is clear, there can be no damage from silt in the channels; if the fountain is turbid, there will be no hope (of maintaining) the channels.'

Anecdote

Hārūn al-Rashīd (once) went out with 'Abbās² (to visit) Fuḍayl ibn 'Iyād. When he reached the door of the house, Fuḍayl was reciting the verse (Q. xlv. 20): 'Do those who commit evil deeds reckon that We shall make them like those who believe and do good deeds, no matter whether it be their life-time or their death-time? How ill they judge!' The meaning of this verse (in Persian) is: 'Do those who do evil deeds suppose that We shall treat them equally with those who believe and do good deeds? They judge ill.' Hārūn said, 'If we (have come) seeking advice, this is enough.' Then he bade them knock on the door. 'Abbās knocked on the door and cried out, 'Homage to the Prince of the Believers! [Open the door for him!]' It was night-time, and Fuḍayl set down a lantern and opened the door. Hārūn groped in the darkness until his hand touched Fuḍayl's hand. 'Alas for so soft a hand,' exclaimed (Fuḍayl), 'unless it gets salvation from God!' Then he said, 'O Prince of the Believers, prepare to answer God on the Resurrection day! For you will be made to stand with every Muslim, one by one, and be questioned about the justice of your conduct towards (each of) them.' Hārūn wept. 'Hush', said 'Abbās; 'you might kill the Prince of the Believers.' 'O Hāmān,' replied Fuḍayl, 'you and your clique have already destroyed him, and you tell me that I might kill him!' Hārūn said (to 'Abbās), 'They call you Hāmān because you have turned me into Pharaoh.' Then (Hārūn) laid a thousand *dīnārs* before Fuḍayl, saying: 'This is lawful. It is from my mother's dowry and [inheritance].' 'I bid you', rejoined Fuḍayl, 'keep what you hold. Take refuge in the Lord; (in so doing) you will give it back to me.' Then he rose and left him, having accepted nothing.

'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz asked Muḥammad ibn al-Ka'b al-Qurazī to describe justice to him. He replied, 'To every Muslim

¹ *Ummāl*: cf. p. 15, note 4.

² Probably al-'Abbās ibn al-Aḥnaf, a poet and royal favourite, q.v. in Index. The anecdote is given at length in Hujwiri's *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, tr. Nicholson, G.M.S. xvii, Leiden, 1911, pp. 97-100, but Hārūn's companion is there the *wazīr* Faḍl ibn Rabi'ah.

who is younger than you, be a father; and to every (Muslim) who is older than you, (be a son; and to every Muslim of the same age,) be a brother. Punish every offender in proportion to his crime; and beware lest you inflict a whipping in anger, for your place will then be in Hell.'

A certain ascetic² came to the contemporary Caliph, who asked him for advice. 'I once travelled', he replied, 'in China. Their king had become deaf, and used to weep a great deal. "I do not weep", he said, "because my hearing has been impaired, but because a victim of justice may suddenly cry out for help at the door of my palace and I shall not hear him. But, thank God, my eyes are sound.'" (This king) issued a proclamation that persons having to complain of oppression should wear red clothes; and thereafter it was his daily practice to ride out mounted on an elephant, and summon any person dressed in red and hear his complaint. O Prince of the Believers!' (continued the ascetic), 'this king, who showed such clemency towards God's slaves, was an infidel, while you are a Believer; be mindful of the quality of your own clemency!'

Abu Qilābah came to 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, who asked him for counsel. He replied: 'From Adam's time till today, no Caliph has endured except you.' When asked to continue, he said: 'Do not put yourself in the place of a Caliph who is about to die, (or) you will be (one).' When again asked to continue, he said: 'If God on High is with you, what do you fear, and if He is not, what refuge have you?' (The Caliph) told him that what he had said was acceptable.

One day when (Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam)³ was Caliph, he thought to himself: 'I have been blessed with wealth in this world for such and such (a length of time). How shall I fare at the Resurrection?' He sent one (of his servants) to Abū Ḥāzim, who was the (foremost) *ālim* and ascetic of the time, with a message saying: 'Send me some of the food which you will take when you finish fasting.' Abū Ḥāzim sent him a small portion of cooked bran, with a

¹ Thus in Ar. (I). There is a similar anecdote in Hujwiri's *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, p. 99; Fuḍayl there tells it to Hārūn.

² *Zāhid*. *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Zuhd*. This story also appears in the *Siyāsatnāmah*, chap. iii; but without mention of the ascetic or of China, and in a context which suggests that it was one of the old Persian kings.

³ Both P. (H) and Ar. (I) have 'Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik', which is historically wrong. The Caliph Sulaymān (son of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik) and the Caliph 'Umar II (son of 'Abd al-'Azīz) were first cousins, and the Caliph Marwān I was their paternal grandfather.

message saying: 'This is what I shall eat for supper.'¹ (Marwān), on seeing it, wept; it made a deep impression on his heart, and he fasted for three days (and nights), eating nothing whatever. On the third night he broke his fast with (the bran). They say that during that night he had intercourse with his spouse, who conceived 'Abd al-'Azīz [the parent of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz], who was unique in the world and resembled 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb in the justice (of his rule). They say that it was because of the blessing which resulted from (Marwān's) sincere intention² when he ate that food.

'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz was asked what was the cause of his repentance. 'One day', he replied, 'I was beating a page-boy.³ He said to me, "Remember the night whose morrow will be the Resurrection day"; and those words troubled my heart.'

One of the saints⁴ saw Hārūn al-Rashīd standing bareheaded and barefooted on the hot gravel at 'Arafāt.⁵ He had raised his hands and was saying: 'O Lord God, You are You and I am I. My occupation is to be ever involving myself in sin, Yours to be always engaged in forgiving. Have mercy upon me!' The saints said: '(See) how the autocrat⁶ of the earth is supplicating the autocrat of the sky!'

'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz asked Abū Ḥāzim to give him a word of advice. 'Sleep on the ground', he said, 'and put death under your pillow.⁷ If you ever think that death will overtake you, take hold of it; but whenever you do not think [that death will overtake you], keep off it. For maybe death is really near.'

The holder of authority should keep these anecdotes before his eyes and accept these counsels, which have been given to others (before him). From every 'ālim whom he meets, he should seek counsel; and every 'ālim who meets kings should give this sort

¹ i.e. the supper—usually a banquet—with which the 'Id al-Fiṭr begins after the end of Ramaḍān. *Shorter E.I.*, arts. *Ṣawm*, *Ramaḍān*, 'Id al-Fiṭr.

² *Niyat*. See p. 4, note 6.

³ *Ghulām*; literally 'lad'. Used for slave-boys employed as pages and messengers, and also for slave-soldiers, who in the 'Abbāsid period were mainly Turks. Cf. W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, G.M.S., n.s., v, London, 1928, p. 227. This story is also told by Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, v, p. 246.

⁴ *Buzurgān*: Ar. (I), *Akābir*; i.e. those who were 'great' in religion.

⁵ Mountain near Mecca, with adjacent plain where pilgrims stop on the 9th Dhū'l-Hijjah. *Shorter E.I.*, arts. 'Arafa, and Ḥadjdj, 1c, p. 122.

⁶ *Jabbār*.

⁷ Literally, 'head'. The next sentence is obscure in both P. (H) and Ar. (I).

of advice, without suppressing the Word of Truth and without flattering their conceit so as to share in their tyranny.

Third principle

This is that the king should understand that he must not be content with personally refraining from injustice, but must discipline his slave-troops,¹ servants, and officers² and never tolerate unjust conduct by them; for he will be interrogated not only about his own unjust deeds but also about those of his staff.

'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb sent to Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, who was governor of Rayy,³ a letter in which (after the usual invocations) he wrote: 'The happiest master of subjects is one whose subjects are happy with him, and the unhappiest is one whose subjects are unhappy with him. Beware of being extravagant, lest your officials⁴ come to regard you as such; for you will then be like a sheep which sees a green pasture and feeds copiously until it grows so fat that its fatness is the cause of its destruction, namely of its being killed and eaten.'

It is written in the Torah⁵ that an unjust act by an official which the Sulṭān learns of but passes over in silence is an unjust act committed by (the Sulṭān) himself and will be counted against him as such.

A holder of authority should understand that there is no greater dupe and fool than he who sells his religion and future life to another for the sake of this life.⁶ His officials and servants will all work for the sake of their own interests in this life. They will cause injustice to appear good in the eyes of the ruler, and thus send him to Hell, in order that they may attain their own ends. What greater enemy is there than one who promotes your utter destruction for the sake of a few unlawful *dirhams*⁷ that (he hopes) to grab?

¹ *Ghulāmān*. See p. 22, note 3.

² *Nā'ibān*; literally 'deputies'.

³ Not in Ar. (I). Abū Mūsā (q.v. in Index) was governor of Baṣrah and for a time also of Kūfah. In early Muslim times the whole of Irān came under the governor of Baṣrah. Rayy was the biggest city of central Irān, near the modern Tehrān.

⁴ 'Ummāl, sing. 'āmil. See p. 15, note 4.

⁵ P. (H) *Tawriyah*. In Q. and other Muslim sources the term appears to include the Talmud and other Jewish scriptures besides the Pentateuch. *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Tawrāt*. Cf. *Talmud*, *Zohay Beshallah*. (H.D.I.)

⁶ Cf. Q. ii. 80.

⁷ The *dirham* (*drachma*) was the silver coin and the *dīnār* (*denarius*) was the gold coin of the early Muslim world. In principle one *dīnār* was worth ten *dirhams*, but in practice the rate varied.

To sum up, (the ruler) must act justly towards his subjects and (at the same time) keep his staff, household, and sons on (the path of) justice. Nobody, however, can do this unless he first observes justice inside himself. Now justice consists of restraining tyrannous instincts, passions, and anger¹ in order to make them the prisoners of reason and religion,² and of not letting reason become the prisoner of tyrannous instincts, passions, and anger. Most human beings are men who have girt (the sword of) reason to the belt of subservience (to the passions). Under the influence of passion or anger, they think up stratagems for bringing their passion or anger to fruition. They are unaware that reason is the army of God on High, and that passion and anger are the army of the Devil.³ How can a man who keeps God's army captive in the hands of the Devil's army act justly towards others?

The sun of justice rises in (the ruler's) breast. Then its beams spread to the members of the (royal) household and nobles⁴ of the palace, and then its rays reach the subjects. But to expect to find rays without the sun is to expect the impossible.⁵

(You should understand and be assured of this, O Sulṭān, that justice springs from perfection of the intellect and that perfection of the intellect means that you see things as they (really) are and perceive the facts of their inner reality without being deceived by their outward appearance. For instance, if you oppress people for the sake of this world, then you should consider what your aim in this world is. If your aim is to eat good food, you should understand that this is an animal passion in a human form, for gluttony is one of the natural characteristics of brute beasts.⁶ If your aim is to wear brocade, you are a woman in the form of a man, for self-adornment and silliness are activities of women. If your aim is to whet your wrath against your enemies, you are a lion and a beast of prey⁷ in human form, for the spasmodic access of wrath is a characteristic of beasts of prey. If your aim is that people should serve you, then you

¹ *Zulm u shahwat u khashm*. Dr. H. D. Isaacs has noted parallels with Plato's terminology: 'justice' ('*adl*') = *dikaioσύνη*; 'passion' (*shahwat*) = *ἐπιθυμία*; 'anger' (*khashm* or *ghaḍāb*) = *οἶρα*.

² '*Aql wa din*'. Cf. Plato's *nous* (= '*aql*'). (H.D.I.)

³ *Iblis*.

⁴ *Khawāṣṣ*.

⁵ The next passage is found in Ar. (I) and Ar. (H) but is missing from P. (H); it appears in *Kīmīyā-yi Sa'ādat*, II, 10, under 'rule' 9. (H. Spencer.) See p. 13, note 6.

⁶ Cf. Plato, *Republic*, Book IX, sections 589–91. (H.D.I.)

⁷ Cf. the 'lion' and the 'monster' in Plato's *Republic*, loc. cit. (H.D.I.)

are an ignorant man in the form of an intelligent man, for if you were (really) intelligent you would know that those who serve you are only servants and slaves to their own bellies, lusts, and passions, and that they have been using you as a net with which to get what they desire and that their subservience and prostration are for their own benefit, not yours. A sure sign of this would be if they were to hear rumours that the rulership might be taken from you and given to another; they would then turn away from you with one accord and seek to insinuate themselves into the intimacy of that other person. Wherever they learn that *dirhams* are (to be found), in that place will they serve and to that place will they bow down. In reality this is not service but mockery. The intelligent man is one who sees the spirit and reality of things and is not deceived by their forms. The real nature of the above-mentioned activities is as we have described and explained. A man who will not let himself be assured of this is not intelligent; and a man who is not intelligent will not be just, and his last abode will be Hell-fire. The capital from which all forms of happiness are derived is intelligence.)

Fourth principle

This is that the holder of authority should not be dominated by pride; for pride gives rise to the dominance of anger, and will impel him to revenge. Anger is the evil genius¹ and blight of the intellect. We have mentioned how it may be remedied in the Book of Anger in the Quarter on Destructive Things in (our) Treatise on the Revivification of the Sciences (of Religion).² If anger is becoming dominant, it will be necessary for the ruler in all his affairs to bend his inclinations in the direction of forgiveness and make a habit of generosity and forbearance, unless he is to be like the wild beasts.

There is an anecdote that Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr ordered the execution of a man who had committed treason. Mubārak ibn Faḍālah,³ who was present, said: 'O Prince of the Believers, listen first to one of the sayings of God's Apostle!' 'Let me hear it!' he replied, and (Mubārak) continued: 'Ḥasan al-Baṣrī quotes God's

¹ *Ghūl-i 'aql*. The same expression comes in *Iḥyā'*, Book XXV. (H.D.I.)

² This is the only mention of Ghazālī's authorship in the body of the text. See Introduction, p. xxiv. *Iḥyā'* '*Ulūm al-Dīn*' is divided into four 'Quarters' of ten Books each. The third is on *Muḥlikāt* (destructive or perdition-causing things); and Book V of this 'Quarter' (Book XXV of the whole work) is on 'The Reproach of Anger, Rancour and Envy' (*Dham al-ghaḍāb wa'l-ḥiqd wa'l-ḥasad*).

³ Ar. (I): 'Mubārak ibn Faḍl.'

Apostle as having stated that on the Resurrection day, when God's creatures are being assembled on the plain, a herald will cry out: 'Let any person who has a title to favour¹ from God on High stand up!' None will stand up except those who have pardoned others.' After (hearing this), the Caliph said: 'Release the man. I have pardoned him.'

Most holders of authority become so angry when a person speaks abusively of them that they proceed to shed his blood. On such occasions (the ruler) should recall what Jesus said to John son of Zacharias: 'If someone talks about you and tells the truth, thank (God), and if he tells a lie, thank (God) all the more; for (God) will have added (a credit item) to your ledger² with no exertion on your part.' This means that the pious works performed by that man will be entered in your ledger.

A certain person was described to God's Apostle as an exceedingly strong man. 'In what way?' asked the Prophet. 'Any man whom he wrestles with', they replied, 'he throws down. He prevails over all.' God's Apostle declared: 'The strong and virile man is one who prevails over his own anger,³ not one who throws other men down.'

God's Apostle also said that if any man can achieve three things, his faith will be perfect. They are: not to form a wrong intention when angered, not to set aside what is right when pleased, and not to take more than what is right when powerful.

'Umar said: 'Do not rely on any person's temper until you have tested him when he is covetous.'⁴

'Ali ibn Husayn,⁵ blessings upon him, went one day to the mosque where a man insulted him. His attendants made ready (to kill) the man, but he said: 'Keep your hands off him!' Then he said to the man: 'What you do not know about us (far) exceeds what you do know. Have you any request which could be satisfied by our hand?' The man was ashamed. 'Ali then gave his own cloak and a thousand

¹ Reading *dastī*; Ar. (I), *yad*, 'a hand'; P. (H), *dūstī* ('friendship').

² *Diwān*.

³ Cf. *Proverbs*, xvi. 32; *Talmud*, *Pirke Aboth*, ed. Travers Herford, New York, 1945, p. 96 (IV. 1). (H.D.I.)

⁴ Ar. (H) here has an anecdote missing from P. (H) and Ar. (I): Husayn ibn 'Ali heard that a man had been slandering him. He picked up a dish of fresh dates and went to the man's house. 'What does this mean, O son of Fātimah?' asked the man. 'I have heard', answered Husayn ibn 'Ali, 'that you have been ascribing your own good deeds to me. In return I have brought you a dish of dates.'

⁵ i.e. 'Ali Zayn al-'Ābidīn.

dinārs to the man, who started to go, saying: 'I testify that there is no (true) scion of the Prophet except him.'

Another story told of ('Ali) Zayn al-'Ābidīn is that he twice summoned a slave but got no answer. ['Did not you hear me call?'] he asked him. 'I did hear', he replied. 'Why did not you answer?' 'You are so good-tempered', he said, 'that I was confident that you would not be annoyed with me.' 'Thanks be to God', said (his master), 'that my slave has confidence in me'; and he set him free (then and there).

Another slave belonging to ('Ali) Zayn al-'Ābidīn once broke the leg of one of his master's sheep. 'Why did you do it?' asked Zayn al-'Ābidīn. 'I did it on purpose', he replied, 'to anger you.' 'Then I will anger the person who gave you the idea, namely the Devil', rejoined Zayn al-'Ābidīn; and he set this slave free also.

There was another man who also used to insult ('Ali) Zayn al-'Ābidīn. To this man he said: 'Gallant Sir, between Heaven and Hell there is a narrow pass.¹ If I cross it I shall not fear these words of yours; if I cannot cross it, I shall be worse than you have said.'

God's Apostle said, 'There may well be persons who through forbearance and forgiveness attain the same degree (of merit) as those who keep the fast and perform the prayer; and there may well be persons whose names will be inscribed in the register of the mighty even though they hold no authority except over their own households.'

Another saying of God's Apostle is that Hell has a gate through which only those will enter who give vent to their anger in ways contrary to God's Law.²

It is related that the Devil came to Moses and said: '(O Moses, three things will I teach you, and then shall you seek a favour for me from the Lord.) Beware of quick temper, for the quick-tempered man [is light-headed] and I can play (tricks) with him (as easily) as children play with a ball. Beware of the tongue, for on none of the traps which I have set for humans do I rely so much as on the tongue. Beware of avarice, for I deprive [the miser] both of religion and of (happiness in) this lower world.'

God's Apostle declared: 'Whoever suppresses anger and has strength enough to set it aside will be clad by the True God on

¹ *'Aqabah*. See description of the *Ṣirāt* on p. 11 and note 3.

² *Shar'*.

High in beatific raiment';¹ and 'Woe to him who grows angry and forgets God's anger against him'.

A certain person asked God's Apostle, 'Teach me some action whereby I may enter heaven!' 'Never become angry', the Prophet told him; 'and furthermore, never ask anybody for anything that is heaven to you.' ('Teach me) more', requested the man; and the Prophet told him, 'Following the afternoon prayer, beg God's pardon seventy times, so that he may forgive your sins of seventy years.' 'I have not been sinning for seventy years', rejoined the man. 'Then your mother's', said the Prophet. 'My mother has not been sinning so long', rejoined the man. 'Then your father's', said the Prophet. 'My father has not been sinning so long', rejoined the man. 'Then your brethren's', said the Prophet.

'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd relates that once when God's Apostle was apportioning a property, a man said, 'This apportionment is not for God', meaning that it was not equitable. Ibn Mas'ūd repeated the story to God's Apostle. The latter grew angry, and his blessed face flushed; but all he said was, 'God have mercy on my brother Moses. People caused him greater annoyance than this, but he kept his patience.'

This assortment of Traditions² and anecdotes contains sufficient counsel for holders of authority. If the root of faith is (firmly) established, it will be effective. [If it is not effective], this will be because the heart is empty of faith and because nothing remains except talk on the tongue. I do not know what sort of faith really exists in the heart of a Finance Officer³ who receives several thousand *dinārs* and gives them away to some individual when he holds them in trust for all. You should know the truth, which is that the whole (community) will claim them back from him on the Resurrection day. The profit from them will go to another, while the torment and retribution will come to him, his action having been an extreme example of neglect (of God's commands) and un-Muslim conduct.

Fifth principle

This is that in every situation which arises, (the ruler) should figure that he is the subject and that the other person is the holder of authority; and that [he should not sanction for others]⁴ anything

¹ *Hullah-yi karāmat*.

³ *Āmil*. See p. 15, note 4.

² *Akhbār*. See Introduction, p. lvii.

⁴ Ar. (I): 'for the Muslims'.

that he would not sanction for himself. Were he to do so, he would be making fraudulent and treasonable use of the authority entrusted to him.

(On the day of Badr¹) God's Apostle was sitting in the shade when Gabriel (came down and) said: 'O Apostle of God, you are in the shade and your Companions are in the sun. How is this?' Gabriel's rebuke to him was as severe as that. (Subsequently) God's Apostle declared: 'If any person wishes to be saved from Hell and enter Heaven, when death finds him he must find the words "There is no God but God"; and he must never sanction for any Muslim that which he would not sanction for himself.' Another saying of the Apostle, God bless him, is that if any person rises in the morning with his mind concerned about anything except God, he is not a godly man; and that if any person disregards and neglects the welfare of the Muslims, he is not one of them.

Sixth principle

This is that (the ruler) should not disregard the attendance of petitioners at his court² and should beware of the danger of so doing. As long as the Muslims have grievances, he need not occupy his time with supererogatory religious observances;³ for redressing the grievances of the Muslims is more meritorious than any work of supererogation.

One day 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz had been attending to the people's affairs. He continued until the time of the noon prayer, and afterwards went home and rested for one hour. His son asked him, 'How can you be sure that death will not come at this very hour, when somebody may still be waiting at the court for the redress of a grievance and you will have failed in your duty towards him?' 'You are right', he answered; and he rose and went out.

Seventh principle

This is that (the ruler) should not form a habit of indulging the passions. (For example), even though he might dress more finely or eat more sumptuously, he should be content with all (that he has); for without contentment,⁴ just conduct will not be possible.

¹ In Ar. (I) but not in P. (H). The Battle of Badr in 2/624 was Muḥammad's first military success over the pagan Meccans.

² Cf. *Siyāsatnāmah* of Niẓām al-Mulk, chapter iii; and below, Part II, Chapter I, pp. 69, 92-93, 102-105. ³ *'Ibādat-i nawāfil*. *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Nāfila*.

⁴ *Qanā'at*; the theme of Sa'di's *Gulistān*, chapter iii.

'Umar (ibn al-Khaṭṭāb), God be pleased with him, asked a certain (pious) Muslim, 'Have you heard anything about my way of life that might be objectionable?' 'I heard', he replied, 'that you have been putting two loaves on the tray for your meals, and that you possess two shirts, one for night-time and one for day-time.' 'Is there anything else?' asked 'Umar. 'No', he replied. 'By God', said 'Umar, 'both these two things shall also cease.'

Eighth principle

This is that (the ruler) should make the utmost effort to behave gently and avoid governing harshly. It has been stated by God's Apostle that holders of authority who treat the subjects gently will themselves be treated gently at the Resurrection. In an invocation, he prayed: 'O Lord God, treat gently all holders of authority who treat their subjects gently, and treat harshly all who treat their subjects harshly.' He also stated: 'To be entrusted with authority and given command is a fine thing for one who exercises it rightly, but an evil thing for one who exercises it wrongly.'

Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik, who was one of the Caliphs (of the house of Umayyah), asked Abū Ḥāzim, who was a saint and ascetic among the '*ulamā*' of his time, 'What policy will lead to salvation in this (royal) task?' He replied, 'Whenever you receive a *dirham*, receive it from somewhere that is lawful, and put it somewhere that is lawful.' 'And who is capable of doing this?' asked the Caliph. Abū Ḥāzim replied, 'One who refuses to endure Hell and prefers the repose of Paradise.'

Ninth principle

This is that (the ruler) should endeavour to keep all the subjects pleased with him. God's Apostle once said (to his Companions): 'The best of my community are those who love you and whom [you love], and the worst of my community are those who hate you and whom you curse.' A holder of authority should not let himself be so deluded by the praise he gets from any who approach him as to believe that all the subjects are pleased with him. On the contrary, (such praise) is entirely due to fear. He must therefore appoint trustworthy persons to carry on espionage¹ and inquire about his standing among the people, so that he may be able to learn his faults from men's tongues.

¹ *Tajassus*. Likewise in Ar. (I).

Tenth principle

This is that the ruler should not give satisfaction to any person if a contravention of God's law¹ would be required to please him; for no harm will come from such a person's displeasure.

'Umar (ibn al-Khaṭṭāb) used to say, 'Every day when I rise, half of mankind is displeased with me, and it will be impossible to please both the contestants who are to come before me. But a man would be exceedingly foolish² if, for the sake of satisfying human creatures,³ he failed to satisfy the True God.'³

Mu'āwiyah once wrote a letter to 'Ā'ishah, God be pleased with her and her father and him who loved her. In it [he asked her for a word of advice], and she wrote back: 'I have heard God's Apostle say that if any person seeks to win God's pleasure in a way which displeases the people, the True God on High will be pleased with him and will cause the people to become pleased with him; but that if any person seeks to win the people's pleasure in a way which displeases God, (for instance, by not commanding them to obey God, not teaching them the particulars of their religion, letting them eat and drink prohibited things, or depriving the hired labourer of his due wage and the woman of her rightful share), the True God on High will be displeased with him and will cause the people to become displeased with him.'

THE EXPLANATION OF THE TWO SPRINGS WHICH WATER THE (TREE OF) FAITH

The roots and branches of faith having been explained, you should understand that there are two springs of knowledge from which this tree draws water.⁴

The First Spring

This is knowledge of this lower world, of what it is and why man has been brought into it. You should understand that a stopping-

¹ *Shar'*, i.e. the legal and ritual code of Islām. *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Shari'ah*.

² *Jāhil*. According to I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i, pp. 219 ff., *jahl* originally meant 'foolishness', in contrast with *hilm* ('level-headedness'). Later it was used to mean 'ignorance of the truth revealed through Muḥammad'.

³ *Khalq* and *Ḥaqq*.

⁴ This section accords with *Iḥyā'*, Book XXVI (on the Reproach of this World); but see Introduction, p. xl.

place is not a fixed abode, and that man is in this world in the role of a traveller, the mother's womb being his first stop and the grave his last stop. His home¹ is the abode (which comes) after that. Every year as he passes through life is like a stage on the journey, every month like a traveller's halt for a rest, every week like a village encountered on the road, every day like a *farsakh*,² and every breath like a step. With every breath he breathes, he draws so much nearer to the after-world. This lower world is like a bridge, and a traveller passing over a bridge who lingers on its span forgetful of his destination will not be an intelligent person. The intelligent person is one who in the stopping-place of this world concerns himself solely with provision³ for the road and seeks no more of the world than the amount he needs (for such provision). Anything he amasses in excess of what he needs will be a deadly poison; at the moment of death he will wish that all his storehouses had been filled with ashes and had never contained silver and gold. However much more he may amass, his proper share⁴ will not exceed the amount he needs; the remainder will breed nothing but sighs and sorrows and at the moment of his death make the agony harder to bear. That is the moment (when he will be called to account whether) these riches have been lawfully amassed; and if they have been unlawfully amassed, his torments in the world to come⁵ will (far) surpass his present sorrows. Only with great difficulty will he be able to endure giving up this world. However, if his faith is sound, despair will not appear, and perhaps, God willing, in the end he will be forgiven.

You should understand that the comfort of this world lasts a limited number of days and is moreover troubled and mixed with pain. It is never perpetual or pure; it will cease in the world to come, and that world is the kingdom without end. The intelligent man will therefore find it easy to abide his few days patiently for the sake of perpetual comfort. If a man dearly loved a certain woman and somebody said to the lover, 'Be patient tonight and I will

¹ *Waṭan*.

² In Greek, *parasang*. The distance covered by an ass in one hour. Varies with the road, but generally taken to be 3½ miles or 6 km.

³ *Zād*. Cf. p. 10, note 6.

⁴ *Naṣīb*. Ar. (I): 'his proper share will only be what he eats and wears, nothing else'.

⁵ *Adhāb-i ākhirat*. Ar. (I), *al-'adhābu fī ḥuḍratihī wa ākhiratihī*. Concerning punishment in the grave (before the resurrection), *E.I.* (2), art. '*Adhāb al-Ḳabr*'.

deliver her to you for a thousand nights without trouble or danger', then notwithstanding the intensity of his love he would find it easy to abide one night in patience for the sake of a thousand nights. The duration of this world is not a thousandth part of that of the world to come and indeed is incommensurable with it, the latter being without end; such length is intrinsically beyond the power of (human) imagination.

To the description of this lower world we have devoted a (special) treatise,¹ and we shall content ourselves here with explaining this world's nature through ten analogies.

First analogy

This is to explain the spell² of this world. God's Apostle said, 'Hold aloof from the world, for she is a worse spell-binder than Hārūt and Mārūt.'³ The beginning of her spell is that she appears to you in such a way that you suppose her to be stationary and fixed in relation to you; for you look at her, and she is the universe itself—yet she is continually fleeing from you. (In fact), however, she is gradually moving, atom by atom and breath by breath. She resembles a shadow which, when you look at it, appears stationary, but is in fact continually moving. It is evident that your life is likewise continually moving and parting company from you, though you are heedless and ignorant of this.⁴

Second analogy

Another example of her spell is that she presents herself to you in an endearing manner in order to make you fall in love with her, and pretends that she will go along with you and not with another. She resembles a worthless woman who is vicious and importunate and lures men to her in order to make them her lovers, then takes them to her house and destroys them.

It is related that Jesus in one of his revelations⁵ saw this world

¹ *Kitāb-i hardah-im*. Probably *Ihyā'*, Book XXVI (Third 'Quarter', Book VI), or perhaps *Kimīyā-yi Sa'ādat*, Introduction, Third 'Element'; both contain the following 'analogies' (pp. 66–69 of the text of *K.S.*, ed. by A. Ārām, Tehran, 1319). (H. Spencer.)

² *Jadū'i*; Ar. (I), *sihr*. *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Sihr* (i.e. magic, sorcery).

³ Q. ii. 96. See Index and art. in *Shorter E.I.*; also p. 172 below.

⁴ Ar. (H) here has two Arabic verses, as follows: 'What is the world but a mirage, even though its delights be many and good? Its bliss passes after the enjoyment, while the passage of the clouds continues to occur.'

⁵ *Mukāshafāt*. Cf. J. Robson, *Christ in Islam*, London, 1929, p. 68 (H.D.I.); *Ihyā'*, Book XXVI, Introduction.

in the form of an old hag. 'How many husbands have you had?' he asked her. 'Too many to be counted', she replied. 'Did they die or divorce you?' he asked. 'I killed them all', she replied. 'How strange of these other fools', he said; 'they see, but they take no warning.'

Third analogy

This is that she keeps her outward appearance finely adorned, and keeps all that is harmful or testing concealed, in order that ignorant persons on seeing her outward appearance may be deceived. She is like an ugly old hag who masks her face but has put on fine clothes and done herself up ornately. Men see her from afar and are enchanted with her, but when they remove her veil they are dismayed to find such ugliness.

There is a Tradition¹ that at the Resurrection this world will be brought up in the form of an ugly old hag with green² eyes and protruding teeth. When the (human) creatures look at her, they will say: 'We take refuge in God from this (person). What can she be, with such ugliness and blemishes?' They will be told, 'She is the lower world, for whose sake you bore envy and ill-will to one another, shed blood unrighteously and broke the bonds of kinship.³ You were lured and deceived by her.' She will then be taken to Hell, and she will say 'O Lord God, where are my lovers?' Then God on High will order that her lovers be taken to Hell with her.

Fourth analogy

A person should reckon how long eternity had lasted when he himself did not exist in this world; how long it will last when he ceases to exist; and how long will last his few days which lie between the eternity with no beginning and the eternity with no end. He will then understand that this world resembles the route of a traveller, starting from the cradle, ending at the grave, and with a given number of stages in between; that each⁴ year is like a stage, each month like a *farsakh*, each day like a mile,⁵ and each breath like a step; and that (the traveller) is continually moving (along this road). One person may have one *farsakh*'s distance left to go, another less, another more; yet each sits tranquil, as if he were

¹ *Dar khabar ast*. See Introduction, p. lvii.

² Ar. (I), 'blue'.

³ *Qaf'-i rahim*.

⁴ Almost word for word from the 'First Spring', p. 32 above.

⁵ *Mil*. Borrowed by Arabic from Latin. Miles were used in the ex-Roman and *farsakhs* in the ex-Persian parts of the Muslim empire.

always to remain in the same position, planning activities which may last ten years and which he himself may never need—for in ten years he may be under the earth.

Fifth analogy

You should understand that this world, in the pleasures which her sons get from her and again in the disgrace which in the after-life they will suffer because of her, is like a person who eats rich and sweet food in such excess as to ruin the stomach. Eventually such a person becomes aware of the disgusting condition of his stomach and of his bad breath, and observes his performance of the natural functions. Then he feels ashamed of himself and full of remorse, because the pleasure has passed while the disgusting condition remains. The greater the amount of delicious food he eats, the bulkier and fouler will be his stools; and similarly, the greater his intimacy with this world, the more disgraceful will be the consequences for him. They will (first) become apparent at the time of his death-agony. A person blessed with abundant riches—gardens, orchards, slave-girls, slave-lads, gold and silver—will suffer greater pain on parting from them at the time of the soul's severance than one who possesses fewer of these things. His pain and torment will not cease at death, but will be augmented; for love of this world is a quality of the heart, and the heart¹ remains as it is and does not die.

Sixth analogy

You should understand that while the affairs of this world mostly appear to be of limited scope and people seldom expect their involvement in them to be of long duration, it may happen that one affair will give rise to a hundred others and that their whole life long will be expended on them. Jesus declared that the seeker of this world is like the drinker of sea-water; the more he consumes, the thirstier he becomes, and he will continue drinking until he perishes; and he will never be cured of that thirst. God's Apostle declared that just as it is impossible for a person to walk into sea-water without getting wet, so is it impossible for him to become involved in the affairs of this world without being defiled.

Seventh analogy

This is that a person who comes into this world resembles one who goes as a guest to the home of a host, whose custom is to keep

¹ *Dil*; Ar. (I), *qalb*. Persian writers often use *dil* in the sense of 'mind' or 'soul'.

his mansion always adorned for guests and to invite them in parties. The host places before them a tray of jewels and gold, and a silver censer with aloes-wood and incense for giving fragrance; but they leave the tray and the censer for the next party when it arrives. If a person is acquainted with the etiquette of the host, and if he is intelligent, he will ignite the aloes-wood and incense and enjoy the fragrance, and then leave the censer willingly, offer thanks and depart; but a person who is stupid and ignorant will suppose that the tray and the censer are to be given to him to take away, and when they are recovered from him at the time of his departure he will feel pain and indignation and begin to complain loudly. You should understand that this world is like that host's mansion. It is a watering-place¹ on the beggars' road, whence they may draw sustenance for their journey.² They should not covet the goods which are in the mansion.

Eighth analogy

This world's inhabitants, in their preoccupation with its affairs and forgetfulness of the world to come, resemble a ship's passengers who, on reaching an island, go ashore to perform the natural functions and ritual ablutions.³ The ship's officers call out, 'Let nobody take too long or get busy with anything except the ablutions, as the ship is to sail soon.' Then the passengers disperse over the island. One group of them is intelligent; they quickly perform the ablutions and come back, find the ship empty and get the least crowded and most agreeable seats. Another group stays fascinated by the wonderful sights of the island; they gaze at its flowers and (fruit-trees),⁴ at its sweet-voiced birds and its (beautifully) coloured and shaped pebbles, but on their return can find no seats on board and have to sit in a cramped, dark place and suffer discomfort. Another group did not merely gaze at those beautiful pebbles; they picked them up and took them on board, but found no place on the ship and had to sit in a (very) confined part and load the pebbles on their necks. When a day or two had passed, the colour of those pebbles changed and became dark, and unpleasant smells began to issue (from them); but these passengers could find

¹ Ar. (I), 'guest-house'.

² *Zād*. Cf. p. 10, note 6, and p. 32, note 3.

³ *Tahārat*; q.v. in *Shorter E.I.*

⁴ Ar. (H) *ashjār*, Ar. (I) *athmār*. P. (H): *kushk-hā*, 'kiosks', i.e. 'palaces', which seems out of context.

nowhere to throw them. They now regret (what they did); and they are still carrying those stones uncomfortably on their necks. Another group was so astonished by the wonderful sights of the island that they went on sight-seeing until they had wandered far from the ship; and the ship sailed. They had not heard the captain's call, being in (the interior of) the island; and the result was that some perished of thirst, others were destroyed by wild beasts. The first group represents the believers and ascetics, while the last group represents the unbelievers who have forgotten the God existing in the other world and utterly abandoned themselves to this world. As God Almighty said in His book (Q. xvi. 109), 'They have preferred the present life over the world to come.' The intermediate groups represent disobedient sinners who have kept the root of faith² but have not held aloof from this world; one group enjoyed (pleasures) despite poverty, (the other) group amassed so much wealth as to become overburdened.

Ninth analogy

Abū Hurayrah, God be pleased with him, relates: 'One day God's Apostle asked me, "O Abū Hurayrah, would you like to see this world and all that is in it?" I replied, "Yes, O Apostle of God!" Then he took my hand and led me to a dung-hill on which had been thrown human heads now reduced to skulls, scraps of cast-off old clothing, putrid bones, and human ordures. "O Abū Hurayrah", he said; "do you see these heads of men? Such will be the heads of you who are full of worldly ambition and greed. Like you (men), those men hoped for long life and endeavoured to develop the world³ and amass wealth; today their bare bones lie here, as you can see. These scraps of clothing are the robes which they wore in their days of elegance and luxury; now the wind carries these robes into the midst of this impurity. These bones are the bones of their beasts of burden, on whose backs they rode round the world. These ordures are the delicious foods which they acquired

¹ Reading *na-shanīdand*, which agrees with Ar. (I). P. (H), *ba-shanīdand*, 'they heard the captain's call, but were in (the interior) of the island'.

² *Aṣl-i imān*. On the question of faith and works, *Shorter E.I.*, arts. *Imān*, *Khāridjites* (p. 248), *Murđjī'a*, *Mu'tazila* (p. 422).

³ *Ba'imārat-i dunyā . . . mī-kūshīdand*. The Iraq Development Board (1950-59) was entitled *Majlis al-Ta'mir*. The words *ma'mūr* (Ar.) and *ābādān* (P.) mean 'inhabited and cultivated', as opposed to 'desert'. This is in contradiction with the teachings of Part II; cf. p. 46 and pp. 55-56 below. See Introduction, p. xi.

by trickery and stole from one another, and which they later ejected from them into this filth which nobody can approach on account of the stench. The whole of this world is such as you see. If anyone wishes to weep over this world, tell him to weep over this.''' Abū Hurayrah, God be pleased with him, reports that all present then wept.

Tenth analogy¹

In the time of Jesus three men were walking along a road when they came across a treasure. They said, 'Let us send one man to fetch something for us to eat.' They sent one of them, and he went and bought food and then said to himself, 'I must put poison into this food, so that they may eat it and die, and the treasure will then be left to me.' The other two men said, 'When this man comes back and brings the food, let us kill him so that the treasure may be left to us', and when he returned bringing the poisoned food, they killed him and then ate the food and both died. Jesus, peace be upon him, passed by that place and said to his disciples: 'Behold this world! The three men have killed (one another) for her sake, and she has outlived all three.'

This (concludes) our advice to seekers of this world about this world.

The Second Spring²

This is knowledge of the last breath.

You should understand that human beings fall into two groups. One group chooses this world; they prefer to hope for long life and never think about the last breath. The other group is intelligent; they always keep the last breath before their eyes, (asking) when it will occur, how they will take the faith with them safely, what things will go with them from this world to the grave, and what things will be taken by the enemies and not remain with them. Such thoughts ought to be in the minds of all persons, and especially of kings and persons who have to deal with this world; for these latter have frequently sent out their minions³ to distract God's slaves, and the people's minds have often been filled with fear and dread by minions of kings.

¹ Cf. Robson, *Christ in Islam*, p. 98. (H.D.I.)

² This section accords with *Ihyā'*, Book XL (On Death and the After-Life), chapters i-iii, where the same anecdotes are found.

³ *Ghulamān*; cf. p. 22, note 3.

At the True God's court, there is a page¹ named 'Izrā'il, blessings upon him. He is known as the Angel of Death, and no creature's soul² will be spared from his grasp. Officials³ of kings seize silver and foodstuffs, but this official (of God) seizes only souls. With the former, mediation and entreaty are always profitable; with the latter, they are of no avail. The former will at length concede a respite of some or more days; the latter never grants a moment's respite.⁴ The wonders of his ways are many. To explain the ways of the Angel of Death, we shall, God willing, recount five anecdotes.

First anecdote

Wahb ibn Munabbih, who was one of the scholars of the Jews and became a Muslim, has related that there was a king who was numbered among the great kings. One day he wished to ride out (on horseback). He bade all the commanders of his army to ride out (also), in order to display his sovereignty and might to the people; magnificent clothes were brought for him to wear, and splendid beasts⁵ were led before him; but he was not satisfied until an even more splendid mount was brought. On this he rode out, proceeding with great pomp into the midst of his army. The Devil came and put his mouth on that king's nose and blew the wind of vainglory up it, with the result that the king said to himself, 'Who is there in the universe like me?' And he rode on, not glancing in his vainglory at anybody. Then a man clad in old, rough clothes came and saluted the king, who gave no response. The man took hold of the horse's reins. 'Do not you know whose horse's reins you are holding?' asked the king. 'I have a request to make of you', he said. 'Wait until I dismount', he replied. 'I want it now', he said. 'Tell me what it is', he asked. 'Nobody must know', he said; 'for I have a secret which must be told into no ears but yours.' 'Tell it', he said. The man raised his head to the king's ear and whispered, 'I am the Angel of Death.' 'Give me a respite', begged the king; 'enough to go home and bid farewell to my wife and children.' 'No, by God', he replied; 'never again shall you go home and see your wife and children, for your life is

¹ *Ghulam*; cf. preceding note. On 'Izrā'il, Q. xxxii. 11, and art. in *Shorter E.I.*

² *Yān*. The word also means 'life'. Ar. (I), *rūḥ*.

³ *Muwakkalān*; likewise in Ar. (I).

⁴ *Muhlat*; cf. the 'fixed term' (*ajal*) mentioned in Q. xxxv. 44.

⁵ *Bārgīrān*, 'beasts of burden'. Ar. (I) specifies them as 'horses of pedigree stock'.

reckoned at one breath—and the moment has come!’ And right at that moment, when the king was on horseback, he seized the king’s soul, and the king fell to the ground. The Angel of Death then left him and went to a believer with whom God was pleased. He saluted the believer, who gave a response, and then said to him, ‘I have a secret for you.’ ‘Tell it’, he asked. ‘I am the Angel of Death’, he said. ‘You are welcome’, he replied; ‘God be praised that you have come, for I have long been waiting for you. In all the universe there has been no absent person for whom I have thirsted more than for you.’ ‘Any business you have, you may attend to now’, he said. ‘Any business of mine’, he replied, ‘is less important than meeting the True God.’ ‘How would you like me to take your soul?’ he asked; ‘for I was bidden, “Take his soul in the way he would like.”’ ‘Give me’, he replied, ‘a respite until I carry out the ablutions and perform the prayer. When I prostrate my head, then take my soul.’ The Angel of Death did as he requested and carried him to the mercy of God the Strong and Glorious.

Second anecdote

It is related that a certain man had great possessions. He sought to amass every sort of wealth that God on High has created, in the hope of living to enjoy it as he pleased. In the course of time he accumulated these riches, and built a lofty and beautiful palace which he equipped with two strong doors and kept guarded by slaves (as fierce as) hangmen.¹ Then one day he caused sumptuous foods to be prepared, and assembled his kinsfolk, household and retainers in order that they might partake of them in his presence. He himself mounted a throne, and as he reclined on it began saying to himself: ‘You have accumulated this world’s riches. Now sit back (all) your life long, free of care, and enjoy them.’ He was still thinking these thoughts, when outside the palace he saw a man in worn-out clothes, with a sack on his neck like a *darvish*, come up to beg for bread. (The man) struck the knocker with such an exceedingly hard, grim blow that all those present were afraid. The guards jumped up and asked him what he meant by such insolence.² ‘Tell this master of yours to come out’, he replied; ‘for I have business with him.’ ‘What right have you to summon him

¹ *Ghulāmān-i jallād*.

² Ar. (I) adds: ‘and told him to wait till they had eaten so that they might give him whatever might be left’.

to go to you?’, they asked. ‘Tell him’, he replied. They told him. ‘Why did not you (chide him and) get rid of him in such and such a way?’ their master asked. Then again the man rapped on the door with the knocker, harder than the first time; and all leapt from their seats, making to attack him. ‘Keep quiet,’ he said, ‘for I am the Angel of Death.’ When they heard him, they were all afraid and their tongues and feet were stilled. Then that rich man¹ said to them, ‘Ask him what he will take in substitution.’ He answered them, ‘Tell him this. It is for you that I have come. Do what you wish, but I shall yet sever from you all these riches which you have amassed.’ Thereupon the rich man collected his money, and sighs for it overcame his heart. ‘O accursed wealth,’ he cried out, ‘you have deluded me and kept me from worshipping God on High! I fancied that you would take my hand, but today you have become my anguish, woe and lament. I leave empty-handed, and you stay behind for my enemies!’ God on High then empowered the money to speak to him. ‘Why do you curse me?’ it asked him; ‘curse yourself, for God on High created us both out of dust and gave me into your hands in order that you might take provision for the world to come, give charity to *darvishes*, and build mosques, bridges and hospices.² On that condition was I to hold your hand in the next world. But you hoarded me, spent me on your whims and kept me under guard, and finally today assigned me to your enemies. You sighed and worried; but what fault was that of mine?’ Then the Angel of Death took (the rich man’s) soul, and he fell head first off his throne.

Third anecdote

Yazīd al-Raqāsh(i) reports that among the Children of Israel³ one of the despots⁴ was (ruling). One day when he was seated on the throne of sovereignty, he saw come in through the door of the palace a man of hateful and exceedingly gruesome mien. All leapt from their seats in dread of him, crying out ‘Who are you?’ ‘I am he’, said the man, ‘whom no chamberlain can exclude. No king do I fear, and no despot can jump loose from my grip.’ On hearing this, the despot fell flat on his face. A trembling came over his limbs, and he asked, ‘Are you the Angel of Death?’ ‘Yes indeed’,

¹ *Khawājah*, earlier rendered ‘master’. Ar. (I), ‘king’.

² *Ribāṭ*. Originally frontier fortress manned by warriors who volunteered for Holy War (*jihād*). Later synonymous with *khānaqāh*, i.e. Sūfī monastery. Shorter E.I., art. *Ribāṭ*.

³ E.I. (2), art. *Banū Isrā’īl*.

⁴ *Jabbār*.

he replied. 'For God's sake', he pleaded, 'give me a single day's respite, that I may repent (of my sins), crave forgiveness, and restore these funds which I hold in my treasury to their owners.' 'No indeed!', he replied; 'At this very moment must it be. For the days of your life have been numbered, and not one more day is left.' 'Give me a single hour's respite', he begged. 'The hours of your life', he replied, 'have been numbered, and not one more hour is left. They have all passed, while you were heedless.' 'If you take me to the next world right now, what will accompany me?' he asked. 'Nothing except your works', he replied. 'I have never done a good work', he said. 'So Hell and God's wrath are bound to be your place', he replied. Then (the Angel of Death) took his soul from him, and he fell; and wails and shouts arose in the kingdom. Had (the people) known what was to be done with him, they would have wailed and lamented even more.

Fourth anecdote

It is related that the Angel of Death went to Solomon one day and glanced several times at a certain boon companion¹ of his. When the Angel of Death went out, the boon companion asked Solomon, 'O Prophet of God, who was this man who glanced at me so sharply?' 'The Angel of Death', he stated. 'I am afraid', said the boon companion, 'that he may take me away; (so please) use your miraculous power² immediately. Order the wind to take me out of his reach forthwith and carry me to the land of India! Perhaps I may be safe for a moment (over there).' Solomon gave the order, and the wind carried him to the remotest part of India. During the same hour the Angel of Death again came to Solomon, who asked, 'Why did you glance at that man so often?' 'I was amazed', he replied; 'for I had been commanded to take his soul in the land of India, and he was a long way from India. I continued wondering when the time would be, until by God's command the wind did carry him to the land of India, on that signal given by you who are God's Prophet. Then I caught his soul over there.'

Fifth anecdote

It has been related that Dhū'l-Qarnayn came to a nation who had no possessions. He saw graves dug at the doors of their houses;

¹ *Nadīm*. See Introduction, p. xlv.

² *Burhān*, i.e. miraculous power which is evidence of prophethood.

and every day they went to these graves and worshipped. Their only food was herbs. Dhū'l-Qarnayn sent a messenger to summon their king, but he refused to come, saying: 'I have no business with Dhū'l-Qarnayn, and no demands to make of him.' Then Dhū'l-Qarnayn went to him and asked, 'What has befallen you?' 'Why (do you ask that)?' he said. 'For this reason,' he replied, 'I do not see any possessions belonging to you people. Why do not you amass silver and gold, and thereby gain profit?' 'Because no person has ever gained satisfaction from such profit,' he said; 'and because it always brings loss in the world to come.' 'For what purpose did you dig these graves?' he asked. 'So that I may at every hour see what stage has been reached on the road to the after-world', he said; 'thus (are we reminded) not to forget death and not to let this lower world become dear to our hearts, but to remain assiduous in worship.' 'Why do you eat herbs?' he asked. 'Because we think it hateful', he said, 'to turn our stomachs into tombs for (animals) when the delights of food go no further than the throat.' Then the king put his hand down (into a crevice) and brought forth a human skull, (which he placed) before Dhū'l-Qarnayn, saying: 'O Dhū'l-Qarnayn, do you know who this was? Perhaps this was one of the kings of this world, who ruled unjustly, spent his time amassing worldly wealth, and oppressed and despoiled the subjects. The True God on High saw his tyranny, took his soul, and sent him to Hell. This is his head!' Then he put [his hand] down again, picked up another skull, and placed it before Dhū'l-Qarnayn, saying: 'O Dhū'l-Qarnayn, do you know who this was?' 'Tell me', he requested. 'This', he said, 'was one of the just and righteous kings, who was kind and merciful to the subjects. When God on High took his soul, He sent him to Paradise.' After saying this, he laid his hand upon Dhū'l-Qarnayn's head, saying, 'O Dhū'l-Qarnayn, I see this head of yours. Perhaps it will soon be one of those two!' On hearing these words, Dhū'l-Qarnayn wept and said to him: 'If you will consent to accompany us as *wazīr*, I will grant you up to half of my empire.' 'No', he answered. 'Why?' he asked. 'The whole of mankind', he answered, 'are hostile to you on account of your sovereignty and wealth. To me they will always be friendly, on account of my contentment and poverty.'

These anecdotes explain the last breath. It has to be recognized that heedless persons dislike talking of death; they are afraid that after doing so they may cease to find this world agreeable.

It is stated in the Traditions¹ that he who thinks often of death and the grave will find the grave to be one of the meadows of Paradise over him, and that he who is heedless thereof, and does not think, will find the tomb to be one of the caverns of Hell over him.

It is reported in the Traditions¹ that one day when God's Apostle was describing the recompense of martyrs² who are killed in the war against the unbelievers, 'Ā'ishah asked: 'Is there anyone, O Apostle, who will not be a martyr, yet will receive the martyr's recompense?' 'Yes,' he stated; 'whoever thinks of death twenty times a day will have recompense on the same scale as martyrs.' He also enjoined, 'Think often of death. This will atone for your sins, and make you sick of this world and cold towards her.' Once he was asked, 'Who are the cleverest of men?' He answered, 'Those who think most about death and spend most time preparing and equipping themselves for it are the clever and intelligent ones. Respect in this world and honour in the world to come are theirs.'

If a person has understood that this world is such as we have said, and if he has kept the last breath always fresh in mind, this world's business becomes an easy burden for him. The tree of his faith stands erect, by reason of the strengthening of its roots and the appearance of branches on it; and his faith carries him safely, God willing, to the presence of the Truth on High.

May God grant to His Majesty³ the King of the East⁴ a clear eye, whereby he may see this world and the next as they (really) are, and so take pains in matters appertaining to the next world and in this world treat mankind well; for a thousand thousand or more of God's creatures are his subjects. If he governs them justly, they will all be intercessors⁵ for him at the Resurrection, and he will be secure against rebuke and punishment; but if he governs them unjustly, they will all be his adversaries, and the position of one who has so many adversaries will be very, indeed terribly, dangerous. When intercessors become adversaries, the case is hard. And God knows best what is right.

¹ *Khabar*. See Introduction, p. lvii.

² *Thawāb-i shahīdān*. Cf. Q. iii. 163. *Shorter E. I.*, art. *Djihād*.

³ *Khudāvand jalla jalāluhu*.

⁴ Cf. p. 3, note 4, and Introduction, pp. xvi-xviii.

⁵ Cf. p. 11, note 9.

PART II

CHAPTER I

ON QUALITIES WHICH ARE REQUIRED IN THE EXERCISE OF DISCIPLINE AND JUSTICE BY KINGS¹ AND (OUGHT TO FIGURE) IN EVERY ROYAL BIOGRAPHY AND CHRONICLE

You should understand that God on High selected two classes of the Sons of Adam and endowed these two classes with superiority over the rest: the one being prophets, blessings and peace be upon them, and the other kings. To guide His slaves to Him, He sent prophets; and to preserve them from one another, He sent kings, to whom He bound the welfare² of men's lives in His wisdom³ and on whom He conferred high rank. As you will hear in the Traditions,⁴ 'the Sulṭān⁵ is God's shadow on earth', which means that he is high-ranking and the Lord's delegate over His creatures. It must therefore be recognized that this kingship and the divine effulgence⁶ have been granted to them by God, and that they must accordingly be obeyed, loved and followed. To dispute with kings is improper, and to hate them is wrong; for God on High has commanded (Q. iv. 62) 'Obey God and obey the Prophet and those among you who hold authority', which means (in Persian) obey God and the prophets and your princes.⁷ Everybody to

¹ *Andar siyāsāt wa 'adl-i pādshāhān*. *Siyāsāt* (Ar.), 'discipline' or 'infliction of punishment', came to mean 'exercise of political authority'. *Adl* (Ar.) and *dād* (P.) mean 'awarding of just decisions' and sometimes merely 'just conduct' or 'just character'; *inṣāf* (Ar.), 'equity', is used almost synonymously. The antonyms are *zulm* (Ar.), *sitam* (P.) and *jawr* (Ar.), 'injustice', 'oppression', 'tyranny'.

² *Maṣlaḥat*.

³ Ar. (I), 'in living together under one who rules'.

⁴ *Akhbār*. See Introduction, p. lvii, and p. 14, note 2, above.

⁵ The term 'Sulṭān' ('authority') was applied in Ghazālī's time to all rulers including Caliphs.

⁶ *Farr-i Izādī*. Cf. pp. 73-74 below and notes. See Introduction, p. xli.

⁷ *Amirān*. *E.I.* (2), art. *Amir*.

whom God has given religion must therefore love and obey kings and recognize that their kingship is granted by God, and given by Him to whom He wills. God Almighty stated this, in the verse (Q. iii. 25): 'Say, O God, owner of the sovereignty! (You give the sovereignty to whom You will, and You take it away from whom You will. You strengthen whom You will, and You humble whom You will. In Your hand is the choice of what is best. Verily You are powerful over everything.)' This means (in Persian) that God on High, who is the King of Kings,¹ gives the kingship to whom He wills, and that He strengthens one man through His favour and humbles another through His justice.

The Sultān in reality is he who awards justice, and does not perpetrate injustice and wickedness, among God's slaves; for the unjust Sultān is ill-starred² and will have no endurance, because the Prophet stated that 'sovereignty endures even when there is unbelief, but will not endure when there is injustice'.³ It is (recorded) in the chronicles that for wellnigh four thousand years this universe was held by the Magians⁴ and the kingdom remained in their family.⁵ This endured because they maintained justice among the subjects. In their religious system⁶ they did not permit injustice or oppression; and through their justice and equity they developed the universe (and made it prosperous).⁷ In the Traditions⁸ it is related that God on High sent the following revelation to the Prophet David: 'O David, tell your nation not to speak ill of the people of Persia;⁹ for it is they who developed the universe, so that My slaves might live in it.' You must understand that the development or desolation of this universe depends upon kings; for if the king is just, the universe is prosperous and the subjects are secure, as was the case in the times of Ardashīr, Farīdūn, Bahrām Gūr, Kistrā, and other kings like them; whereas when the

¹ *Pādshāh-i padshāhān.*

² *Shu'm buvad*; Ar. (I), *mash'ūm*.

³ Quoted also in the *Siyāsatnāmāh*, chap. ii.

⁴ *Mughān*; Ar. (I), *Majūs*. *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Madjūs*.

⁵ *Khānadān*. According to Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 116, 'The Magians were originally a tribe of the Median people who had the privilege of priesthood. . . . In the Sāsānid empire . . . the clergy continued to be recruited from the tribe of the Magians, which naturally had grown a good deal over the centuries. Compare the great family of the Sayyids in Shi'ite society.'

⁶ *Kish*; Ar. (I), *madhhab*.

⁷ *Ābādān kardand*; Ar. (I), *'ammarū*. Cf. p. 37, note 3, above. See Introduction, p. xl.

⁸ *Akhbār*. See Introduction, p. lvii.

⁹ *'Ajām*. *E.I.* (2), art. *'Adjam*.

king is tyrannical, the universe becomes desolate, as it was in the times of Ḍaḥḥāk, Afrasiyāb,¹ and others like them.

In case any person should find difficulty (in understanding this) and say, 'It is unlikely that if the Magians held the universe for four thousand years, they all ruled justly and never perpetrated injustice or oppression', we have here set forth the particulars of these kings, the lengths of their reigns, their lives and characters, and how each behaved towards the subjects. If (such a person) reads this, the difficulty will be lifted from his mind, and he will also learn how many years each of them reigned or governed, how he departed, who ascended (the throne) after him, and who among them was the first and who the last. The history of each will be given, in correct order—please God.

THE ACCOUNT OF THE GENEALOGIES, CHARACTERS, AND HISTORIES OF THE KINGS²

(It is related in the (Persian) traditions³ that Adam, on whom be peace, had many sons. From their number he chose two, Seth and Kayūmarth, to whom he gave forty of the Great Books,⁴ by which they were to work. Then he charged Seth with the preservation of religion and (affairs of) the next world, and Kayūmarth with the

¹ Ar. (I) adds: *Yazdijird ? Kiyāh (? the Sinner)*.

² The account of the kings has been translated from Dr. H. D. Isaacs's recension of the Bodleian Arabic manuscript (Ar. (I)), with a little supplementation from a Cambridge Arabic manuscript Qq. 231 (Ar. (Camb.)).

In Prof. Humā'i's Persian manuscript the names of almost all the Sāsānid and Arsakid (Ashkānian) kings were missing, and the early (Pishdadian and Kayānian) kings often came in the wrong order. Prof. Humā'i was able to reconstitute the passage on the early kings, but could achieve nothing with the subsequent passages, which he left as they stood in the manuscript.

The lengths of the reigns of various kings are sometimes identical but more often different in Ar. (I) and Ar. (Camb.); in P. (H) they only rarely concur with Ar. (I) or Ar. (Camb.). Neither Arabic text mentions the Kings of the Factions (*Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if*) and Ashkānians.

As the context shows, Ghazālī's purpose is only to recapitulate the moral character traditionally assigned to each king. It was not in fact possible to make further efforts towards establishing a definitive text, for which purpose it would be necessary to visit Istanbul and collate the various manuscripts existing there (see Introduction, p. xxi); and in the absence of a definitive text, to inquire into Ghazālī's immediate sources would be futile. (See Introduction, pp. lx-lxiii.)

³ *Akhbār*; see Introduction, p. lvii.

⁴ *Ṣaḥīfah*; see Browne, *Lit. Hist.* i, p. 113.

affairs of this world and the kingship. (Kayūmarth) was the first of the kings of this world, and his reign lasted 30 years.¹ After him was Hūshang, whose reign lasted 40 years. After him was Ṭahmūrath, who warred against the *jinn*² and whose reign lasted 30 years. After him was Jamshīd—he who introduced saddles and weapons.³ (He fought) numerous wars and carried out great works, and his reign lasted 700 years. After him was Bayvarāsb, known as al-Ḍahhāk; he was the possessor of the Two Snakes.⁴ His (qualities) were cheating, evil tricks and magic, and he was a tyrant, oppressor, aggressor and despot; his reign lasted 1,000 years. After him was Afrīdūn, who had a good name and an excellent character and morals; his (qualities) were good repute and spreading justice, and his reign lasted 500 years. After him was Minūchihr, whose (qualities) were erudition and (carrying out) great works and mighty enterprises; his reign lasted 120 years. After him was Navdar⁵ who reigned 12 years. After him was Afrasiyāb,

¹ *The mythical kings of Persia*

Pīshdādian

Kayūmarth
Hūshang (Ūshhang)
Ṭahmūrath, known as Dīvbān
Jamshīd (or Jam)
Bayvarāsb, known as Ḍahhāk

Kayānian

Farīdūn (or Afrīdūn)
Minūchihr
(Navdar)
Ziv bin Ṭahmāsb
(Garshāsb)
Kay Qubād
Kay Kā'ūs
Kay Khusrāw
Luhrāsb
Gushtāsb
Bahman
Humāy (widow of Bahman, mother of Dārā)

Dārā (= Darius III) (see Index)

(Dārā ibn Dārā)

² P. (H): *div-ān*. Cf. Browne, *Lit. Hist.* i, p. 112.

³ P. (H) *afzār-hā*, 'tools'. See *ibid.*, p. 114.

⁴ *Dhū'l-Hayyatayn*. Cf. *ibid.*

⁵ Thus in Ar. (I) and Ar. (Camb.). Not in P. (H).

The Achaemenid kings and their reigns (B.C.)

Cyrus, 559-529
Cambyses, 529-521
(Pseudo-) Smerdis, usurper, 521
Darius, 521-485
Xerxes, 485-465
Artabanus, usurper, 465-464
Artaxerxes I, 464-425, known as Longimanus
Xerxes II, 425
Sogdianus, 425-424
Darius II (or Ochus), 424-405, known as Nothus
Artaxerxes II, 404-358, known as Mnemon
Artaxerxes III (or Ochus), 358-338
Narses (or Arses), 338-336
Darius III, 336-330, known as Codomannus

who ruled over (? Tūrān)¹ and whom the Turks called (? Kankā Alp²); he possessed courage, and used to make his soldiers march by night and disturb the country with his men and horses; his reign in the lands of Irān lasted 12 years.³ After him was Ṭahmāsb, whose (qualities) were courage and good morals; his reign lasted five years and a quarter. (After him) was Kay Qubād, who had (the ability to) mobilize troops and deploy armies, and the (quality) of mercy towards the subjects; his reign lasted 120 years. After him was Kay Kā'ūs, whose (quality) was magnanimity and who reigned 120 years. After him was Kay Khusrāw, whose (qualities) were excellent performance (of religious works), and withdrawal from affairs and asceticism after obtaining his desires; his reign lasted 60 years. (After him was Luhrāsb,⁴ who was the possessor of the crown and of greatness and glory; his reign lasted 70 years.) After him was Gushtāsb, who adopted the path of Zoroaster and whose reign lasted 120 years. After him was Bahman (ibn) Isfandiyār, whose (qualities) were malice and bellicosity and whose reign lasted 112 years. After him was his daughter Humāy,⁵ whose (qualities) were judgement and discretion and whose reign lasted 17 years. After her was Dārā, whose (characteristics were) leading troops, organizing affairs, and granting provinces in fief; his reign lasted 50 years. After him was Dārā,⁶ who was characterized by defeat, misfortune and cowardice, and whose reign lasted 41 years. After him was Alexander (the Great), who is Dhū'l-Qarnayn; his (characteristics) were wandering around the world, making distant journeys, seeing marvels, conquering countries, and vanquishing kings;⁷ his reign lasted 36 years.⁸

¹ Ar. (I): ? al-Lān. Ar. (Camb.): 'the first (*sic*) of the kings of Irān'.

² P. (H): ? Altakā Alp ? Ār. Ar. (Camb.): ? Kilit.

³ P. (H) adds: 'and descendants of his are reigning in Turkistān, Samarqand and Bukhārā even now'. This refers to the Qara-Khānid or Ilig-Khānid Turkish (Uigur) dynasty of Transoxiana and Kāshghar who ruled 320/932-560/1165.

⁴ Not in Ar. (I). P. (H): '... Luhrāsb; the crown of magnanimity was his and his reign lasted 110 years.' Ar. (Camb.): '... Luhrāsb, who was the possessor of the crown and of greatness and glory', &c., as above.

⁵ Thus also Ar. (Camb.). P. (H): Shamirān.

⁶ According to Firdawsī and some others, there were two kings named Dārā, father and son, and Alexander was really the son of the elder Dārā (or Dārāb), not of Philip (Faylaqūs). Browne, *Lit. Hist.* i, pp. 118-19; *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Iskandar*.

⁷ Ar. (Camb.) adds: 'and justice towards the subjects and troops'.

⁸ Ar. (I) and Ar. (Camb.) pass hence straight to Ardashīr Sāsān. The following paragraph concerning the Kings of the Factions is taken from P. (H).

Then the kingship passed to the Kings of the Factions,¹ and of these one faction known as the Ashkānians won the ascendancy. The first of the Ashkānian kings was Ashk ibn Hurmuz, whose reign lasted 13 years and one month . . . the last of the Ashkānian kings, whose reign was (full of) disorder. After him (Ardashīr ibn Pābak ibn Sāsān)² rose and took the kingship from them, winning power, glory, and success; the kingship remained in his family . . .³

¹ *Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if*. The National Epic mentions them and the Ashkānians (Arsakids) by name, but gives no details of the Seleucid and Parthian periods; perhaps as a result of falsification of history by the Sāsānids. Browne, *Lit. Hist.* i, pp. 119-20.

The Ashkānian Kings
(according to Ṭabarī)

Ashk ibn Ashkān (10 years)
Shāpūr ibn Ashkān (20 years)
Gūdarz ibn Ashkānān (10 years)
Bizhan (21 years)
Gūdarz-i Kūchik (19 years)
Narsī
Hurmuz (17 years)
Ardavān (12 years)
Kisrā Ashkānī (40 years)
Balāsh (24 years)
Ardavān-i Aṣghar (13 years)

(Total, 226 years; making, with the 40 years of the *Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if*, 266 years from Alexander to Ardashīr the Sāsānid. See Browne, loc. cit.).

The Arsakid (Parthian) Kings

Arsaces, c. 250-248 B.C. (? Ashk)
Tiridates, 248-211
Artabanus I (conquered Mesopotamia)
Priapatius
Phraates I
Mithridates I, d. between 141 and 130
Phraates II
Artabanus II
Mithridates II, the Great
Mnascires?
Sanatroces, d. c. 70 B.C.
Phraates III
Mithridates III
Orodes I (defeated Crassus, 53 B.C.)
Phraates IV, c. 38 B.C.-d. A.D. 2
Phraataces
Orodes II
Vonones I
Artabanus III, c. A.D. 16-?
Gotarzes (? Gūdarz)
Bardanes
Vonones II, c. 50 A.D.
Vologeses I
Pacorus
Chosroes or Osroes (Khusraw, Kisrā)
Vologeses II, c. 122-c. 149
Vologeses III
Civil wars
Artabanus IV, d. 226 (Ardavān).
(From death of Alexander, 323 B.C., to death of Artabanus IV, 549 years.)

² Name missing from P. (H).

³ Perhaps the missing figure is 434 years. See Browne, loc. cit.

(until) the sovereignty passed from them to the Muslims. The early (kings) from Kayūmarth to Kay Qubād were called the (Pish-dādians),¹ and those from Alexander to Ardashīr Pābakān were called the Ashkānians.

Ardashīr's reign² lasted 44 years, of which 30 were (spent) in waging wars and putting the world right, and 14 in peace.

¹ P. (H): *Bilādīyāt*.

² From P. (H). Ar. (I) has only: 'After him was Ardashīr Sāsān, whose reign lasted 78 years.' Ar. (Camb.): 'After him was Ardashīr Sāsān, whose reign lasted 30 years.' The names and reigns of the Sāsānid kings (according to Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*) were as follows:

(Pahlavī)	(Greco-Latin)	(Perso-Arabic)
Ardashēr I, son of Pāhbagh, son of Sāsān (A.D. 226-41)	Artaxerxes	Ardashīr, Bābakān
Shāhpūhr I, son of Ardashēr I (241-72)	Sapor	Shāpūr (Ar. Sābūr)
Hormizd I, son of Shāhpūhr I (272-3)	Hormisdas	Hurmuz
Vahrām I, son of Shāhpūhr I (273-6)	Varanes	Bahrām
Vahrām II, son of Vahrām I (276-93)	Varanes	Bahrām
Vahrām III, son of Vahrām II (293)	Varanes	Bahrām
Narseh, son of Shāhpūhr I (293-302)	Narses	Narsī
Hormizd II, son of Narseh (302-9 or 310)	Hormisdas	Hurmuz
Shāhpūhr II, son of Hormizd II (309 or 310-79)	Sapor	Shāpūr (Ar. Sābūr), 'Dhū'l-Aktāf', the 'Uprooter of the Shoulders' (of Arab rebels)
Ardashēr II, ? brother of Shāhpūhr II (379-83)	Artaxerxes	Ardashīr
Shāhpūhr III, son of Shāhpūhr II (383-8)	Sapor	Shāpūr (Ar. Sābūr)
Vahrām IV, son of Shāhpūhr II (388-99)	Varanes	Bahrām
Yazdgard I (399-421)		Yazdgard (Ar. Yazdijird), known as 'Bizahkār' or 'al-Athīm', the 'Sinner'.
Vahram V, Gōr, son of Yazdgard I (421-38 or 439)		Bahrām, Gūr, the 'Wild Ass'.
Yazdgard II, son of Vahrām (438 or 439-57)		Yazdgard (Ar. Yazdijird)
Hormizd III, son of Yazdgard II (457-9)		Hurmuz
Pērōz I, son of Yazdgard II (459-84)		Firūz
Valāsh, brother of Pērōz I (? or son) (484-8)		Balāsh
Kavādh I, son of Pērōz I (488-531)		Qubād

[Footnote continued overleaf]

After him was Shāpūr¹ ibn Ardashīr, whose reign lasted 33 years. After him was (? Hurmuz²), whose reign lasted 30 years and 3 months. After him was Bahrām ibn Bahrām, whose reign lasted 4 months. After him was Narsī, whose reign lasted 9 years. After him was Hurmuz ibn Narsī, whose reign lasted 70 years and 5 months. After him was Shāpūr Dhū'l-Aktāf, whose reign lasted 70 years. After him was Shāpūr ibn Shāpūr, whose reign lasted 5 years. After him was Bahrām ibn Shāpūr, whose reign lasted 12 years. After him was Yazdgard the Sinner, whose (qualities) were tyranny, oppression and evil-doing, and whose reign lasted 30 years. After him was Bahrām Gūr, whose (qualities) were entire attention to the welfare of the subjects, shooting with the bow, hunting, and spending his time in merry-making, play, feasting and drinking; his reign lasted 33 years. After him was Yazdgard ibn Bahrām, whose reign lasted 8 years. After him was Hurmuz, whose reign lasted 11 years. After him was Fīrūz ibn Hurmuz, whose reign lasted 11 years. After him was (? Balāsh³), whose

(Pahlavī)	(Greco-Latin)	(Perso-Arabic)
(Zhāmāsp, brother of Kavādh I) (498-501)		(Jāmāsb)
Khusrō, Anōshagh-ruvān ('of immortal soul'), son of Kavādh I (531-79)		Khusraw (Ar. Kisrā) Anūshīrvān, known as the 'Just'
Hormizd IV, son of Khusrō I (579-90)		Hurmuz
Vahrām VI, Tchōbēn, usurper (590-1)		Bahrām Chūbīn
Khusrō II, Abharvēz, the 'victorious', son of Hormizd IV (591-628)		Khusraw (Ar. Kisrā) Parviz
Kavādh II, Shērōē, parricide, son of Khusrō II (628-9)		Shīrūyī, Shīrūyah
Ardashēr III, son of Shērōē		Ardashīr
Shahrvarāz, usurper (629)		Shahbarāz
Khusrō III		Khusraw (Ar. Kisrā)
Bōrān (queen), (629-30)		Pūrāndukht (Ar. Būr- āndukht)
Pērōz II		Fīrūz
Āzarmēdukht (queen), sister of Bōrān		Āzarmīdukht
Hormizd V		Hurmuz
Khusrō IV		Khusraw (Ar. Kisrā)
Farrukhzād, or Khvarrehzād		Farrukhzād
Yazdgard III, son of Shahriyār (632-51 or 652)		Yazdgard (Ar. Yazdi- jird) ibn Shahriyār

¹ Ar. (I): *Sābūr*.

² Ar. (I): ? *Ūzma kard*. Ar. (Camb.) has Bahrām ibn Bahrām, reigned 120 years, followed by Bahrām ibn (illegible), reigned 4 months.

³ Ar. (I): *Ashk*. Ar. (Camb.): *Asang*. Presumably copyists' errors for Balāsh.

reign lasted 5 years and 2 months. After him was Kay Qubād, whose reign lasted 40 years. After him was Jāmāsb the Sage,¹ who possessed knowledge of the stars and made correct predictions about them; his reign lasted 1 year and 6 months. After him was Khusraw² Anūshīrvān, the pride of the kingdom of Irān; his (qualities) were justice, equity, beneficence and helpfulness, and his reign lasted 48 years. After him was Hurmuz, whose reign lasted 12 years. After him was Khusraw Parvīz, who was unequalled by any of the kings in dominion, resources of funds and weapons, and enjoyment of the pleasures; were we to describe it all, this book would indeed be long. His reign lasted 38 years. After him was Shīrūyī ibn Khusraw, who was perfidious and little to be trusted; his reign lasted 7 months. After him was Ardashīr, whose reign lasted 1 year and 6 months. After him was (? Shahrbarāz³), who reigned 55 days. After him was Pūrāndukht, who reigned 6 months; after (her⁴) was Āzarmīdukht, who reigned 4 months; and after (her⁴) was Farrukhzād, who reigned 1 month. After him was Yazdgard ibn Shahriyār; he was the last of the kings of the Persians, and his reign lasted 36 years).

After him there was no other king of their community; the Muslims were victorious and took the kingship out of their hands. The power and dominion passed to the Muslims, through the benediction of the Prophet (Muḥammad), God bless him. (That was in the time of the Prince of the Believers 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, God be pleased with him.)

You should know that all these (kings) whom we have mentioned were the masters of the world. They attained that which they desired, and they spent their days enjoyably. Then they passed; but their names (and reputations) endure⁵—for deeds such as we have enumerated (and for qualities such as we have stated).

You should know for certain that after men (have gone), talk of them continues. If a man is virtuous, he will be remembered for his virtue, and if wicked, for his wickedness. It is therefore incumbent on men and particularly on kings to cultivate the seeds of

¹ Ar. (Camb.) has *Jāmasb*; Ar. (I), *Hāmā*; otherwise identical. Kavādh I was temporarily deposed in favour of his brother Jāmāsb and after his restoration turned against the Mazdakites (Browne, *Lit. Hist.* i, p. 171).

² Ar. (I): *Kisrā*, here and below.

³ Ar. (I): *Garāz*. Presumably a copyist's error for Shahrbarāz.

⁴ Ar. (I), 'him', though referring to queens.

⁵ Reading *ba-mānad* for P. (II) *na-mānad*. Thus in Ar. (I) and Ar. (Camb.).

virtue and shun vices and vile things, if they are to leave a good name behind them and not to be remembered by people for wickedness.

Verses¹

Lad, shun evil! Repent if you do wrong!
 From yourself keep intoxication far!
 Be afraid of the bad time that may come!
 After you, only talk of you will last.
 Take good care that such talk be of the best!

There is a saying that the memory which a gentleman² leaves behind him is his second life among the people (in this lower world). An intelligent person should therefore read these reports of the kings and observe the vicissitudes of this fickle world, in order that he may understand and avoid losing his heart to her; for she will not continue (always) to be kind, nor unkind. He should endeavour to avoid making too many enemies; having enemies is a rather difficult matter, as God on High is a just judge and will inevitably award enemies their due at the Resurrection. It accordingly does not pay to make enemies for the sake of this world, as the following story shows.

Anecdote³

Abū 'Alī Daqqāq came to Abū 'Alī Ilyās, who was army commander at Nishāpūr. Abū 'Alī Ilyās was a very distinguished man, and he sat down cross-legged in front of Abū 'Alī Daqqāq and asked him, 'Give me a word of advice.' Abū 'Alī Daqqāq answered him, 'O Amīr, I will ask you a question; and (please) give a candid reply!' 'I will', he said. 'Tell me', he went on, 'do you prefer gold, or an enemy?' 'I prefer gold', he replied. 'Then how is it', he asked, 'that you will leave behind here that which you prefer, and take with you that which you do not prefer, namely the enemy?' Tears welled in the Amīr's eyes, and he said: 'You have given me a piece of advice which in these (few) words sums up all counsel and wisdom.'

¹ Ar. (I) has three Arabic verses meaning much the same, except that 'intoxication' does not appear.

² *Āzād-mard*, literally 'free man'; Ar. (I), *al-rijāl*, '(gentle)men'.

³ This anecdote is found in the *Siyāsatnāmah* of Nizām al-Mulk, chap. vii. Ar. (I) makes Abū 'Alī Ilyās come to, and kneel before, the ascetic Abū 'Alī Daqqāq. The *Siyāsatnāmah* makes Abū 'Alī Daqqāq come to, and kneel before, Abū 'Alī Ilyās.

God on High sent the Prophet to transform the Abode of Unbelief into the Abode of Islām through his benediction,¹ and to bring development and prosperity² to the world through justice and equitable (rule). The king of that epoch was Anūshīrvān, who surpassed the kings who had been before him in justice, equity and (ability to enforce) discipline. This was due to the benediction of the Apostle, God bless him, because he was born during his lifetime; after the birth of Muḥammad, Anūshīrvān [continued living two years. Our Prophet] was proud of his epoch, and said: 'I was born in the time of the Just King.' Such was his information about (Anūshīrvān's) justice; and people still mention (that king's) reign on account of its justice, and speak more of his justice and equity than (of the justice and equity) of all the kings; with the result that the inhabitants of this universe well know how excellent is his name, even though he was an unbeliever. The kings before him whom we have mentioned all showed concern for justice; they developed the world and kept their troops under control through (strict) discipline. Remains of their buildings and works are (still) visible in the world, and every city is named after one or another king. They founded villages, excavated irrigation tunnels and brought out all the waters that were being wasted to give life to the land. It was through justice that Anūshīrvān made the world prosperous.

(Anecdote³)

(One day during his reign Anūshīrvān pretended to be sick. He sent his confidants and agents with orders to wander through the territories of the kingdom and corners of the realm and obtain an old brick from a ruined village for him to use as a medicine. He mentioned to his friends that the doctors had prescribed such (a medicine). They set out and wandered through his entire realm, and then returned, saying, 'We have not found a single ruined place or old brick in the entire kingdom.' Anūshīrvān rejoiced and thanked his God, and said, 'By this device I only wished to test my realm and try my provinces, in order that I might know whether there was still any ruined place in the kingdom and (if so) repair and repopulate it. But there is no longer any place which is not populated and flourishing. The affairs of the kingdom are fully

¹ *bi-barakat-i- vāy*. E.I. (2), art. *Baraka*; 'a beneficent force, of divine origin'.

² *ābādān kard*; Ar. (I), '*Ammara*' *l-dunyā*. Cf. p. 37, note 3, and p. 46, note 7.

³ From Ar. (I); missing in P. (H).

regulated, its institutions are organized, and its prosperity has reached the height of perfection.')¹

The efforts of these kings to develop the world were (made) because they knew that the greater the prosperity, the longer would be their rule and the more numerous would be their subjects. They also knew that the sages had spoken rightly when they said: 'The religion depends on the monarchy, the monarchy on the army, the army on supplies, supplies on prosperity, and prosperity on justice.'² They would not tolerate any (infraction), small or great, because they knew beyond all doubt that where injustice and oppression are present, the people have no foothold; the cities and localities go to ruin, the inhabitants flee and move to other territories, the cultivated lands are abandoned, the kingdom falls into decay, the revenue diminishes, the treasury becomes empty, and happiness fades among the people. The subjects do not love the unjust king, but always pray that evil may befall him.

Now injustice is of two kinds. One is the injustice which Sultāns do to subjects, strong men to weak, and rich men to poor. The other is the injustice which you do to your own self, namely the curse of sin. So avoid treating your own self unjustly, and then God will keep injustice from you, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

Among the Children of Israel was a fisherman who used to catch fish and sustain his family thereby. One day a large fish fell into his net, and he rejoiced and said, 'I will sell the fish and use the proceeds for our expenses.' On the way a bailiff² came up to him and asked, 'Will you sell this fish?' The fisherman said to himself, 'If I say that I will sell, he will not give a good price for it'; so he replied, 'I am not selling it.' The bailiff grew angry and beat the fisherman on the back with a stick; then he took the fish without paying anything for it. The fisherman prayed, 'O Lord, You created me weak and him strong; get me redress from him in this

¹ Cf. *Qābūs-nāmah*, chap. xl (Rules for the Wazirate), tr. R. Levy, p. 213: 'Good government is secured by armed troops, armed troops are maintained with gold, gold is acquired through cultivation, and cultivation is sustained through payment of what is due to the peasantry by just dealing and fairness.' Likewise in chap. xlii (The Conduct of Kingship), p. 229. The saying is attributed to Ardashir I by Mas'ūdī, *Les Prairies d'Or*, ed. and tr. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1863, p. 162; and by Tha'ālībī, *Histoire des Rois des Perses*, ed. and tr. H. Zotenberg, Paris, 1890, p. 482.

² 'Awwānī; Ar. (I), *ba'd al-'awwānīyah*. Cf. p. 16, note 3.

world, as I have not the patience to wait for the world to come!' The bailiff carried the fish to his house and told his wife to broil it. His wife broiled the fish, and laid it on a tray and brought it to her husband. According to one account, the man ate the fish and then his finger began to ache and he became feverish. According to another account, the man stretched out his hand to partake of the fish, and then the fish opened its mouth and bit the man's finger and he became feverish. The doctor said, 'The hand must be amputated in case it infects the whole arm.' He amputated the hand, but the pain reappeared and the man again became feverish. The doctor said, 'The arm must be amputated'; but when he had amputated it, the pain again reappeared, and the man became so extremely feverish that he slipped away into the desert and began crying (to God) for help. Seeing a tree, he sat down beneath it and fell asleep; and in a dream (he was told), 'Before you have the other hand cut off, give satisfaction to your adversary!' After waking from his dream, he meditated and remembered, 'I have taken that fish unjustly, and the fish has bitten me.' He went back to the city, found the fisherman, and fell at his feet and wept remorsefully; then he gave him all that he possessed. The fisherman was satisfied, and immediately the pain abated. He slept that night, and on the next day God on High restored his hand. A revelation then came to Moses: 'O Moses, if (this man) had not given satisfaction [to his adversary], I who am God would have tortured him thus as long as he lived.'

Anecdote

Moses, God bless him, addressed a prayer to God on High. 'O Lord God', he prayed, 'show me Your justice.' 'O Moses', He said, 'cannot you be patient?' 'O Lord', he replied, 'with Your help I can.' 'Arise,' He commanded, 'and go to such and such a spring and sit there hidden.' Moses went and did so. A rider came up to the well, drank water, performed the ablutions, took a purse from his girdle, left it there, and went. Then a boy came and took the purse and went. Then a blind man came and performed the ablutions and stood in prayer. Suddenly the rider came back. 'I left a purse here,' he said to the blind man, 'and you have come but nobody else has been here during this last hour. Give back the purse!' 'I am blind', answered the man; 'I have not seen any gold.' The rider grew angry and drew his sword and killed the blind man;

then he searched for the gold but did not find it and went. Moses said, 'O Lord God, I know what the facts are.' Then Gabriel came down and said: 'God the Strong and Glorious has commanded me (to tell you this). "I know things which you do not know. As regards the boy who took the purse, that purse was his own property. The gold (in it) belonged to his father, who was a labourer in the service of this rider. All that he had accumulated through his labour for the rider was in that purse, and this boy has now recovered his family's rightful substance. As regards the blind old man, before he went blind he had killed this rider's father, and now the rider has taken vengeance on him. Behold, O Moses! Such is Our justice!"'

The author of this book states that the above story has been quoted in order that the intelligent man may understand how nothing is hidden from God on High, and how God awards justice in this world to victims of oppression. So heedless are we, however, that when disaster falls we do not think whence it comes.

Dhū'l-Qarnayn was asked, 'Over what things in your empire do you rejoice?' 'Over two things,' he replied; 'one is justice, and the other that I am able to reward any person who is kind to me with even greater kindness.'

Tradition¹

The Prophet stated: 'God loves kindness in all (human) actions. Let the man who is to slaughter a sheep therefore sharpen his knife, so that he may deliver that living creature from pain sooner.'

Tradition¹

Ibn 'Umar² has reported that God's Apostle stated: 'God on High created nothing finer on earth than justice. Justice is God's balance on earth, and any man who upholds this balance will be carried by Him to Paradise.'

Tradition¹

Ibn 'Umar reports that God's Apostle stated: 'There is a place in Paradise for the kind and charitable, including the man who is kind to his own family and dependants.'

¹ *Khābar*. See Introduction, p. lvii.

² Presumably 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar, q.v. in Index. Ar. (I) has the same, but Ar. (H) attributes the saying to Moses and does not name a narrator.

Qatādah in his explanation of the verse (Q. lv. 7), 'That you should not transgress in the balance', i.e. in justice, says that it means, 'Treat the sons of Adam kindly and be just with them, as you would wish them to be just with you.'

'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar' is (also) reported to have told that God's Apostle stated: 'When God on High sent Adam down to earth, He gave him four words of command, saying, "O Adam, your task and the task of all your sons lies in these four words. One word is for Me in particular; one word is for you who are Adam; one word is [between Me and you; and one word] is between you and men. As for the one concerning Me, it is that you worship Me correctly. The word concerning you is that I shall reward you. The one between Me and you is that it is for you to pray and for Me to answer. The one between you and men is that you should treat them justly and act equitably."'

Qatādah has (also) said that injustice is of three kinds: that which God never forgives, that which never lasts long, and that which He does forgive. As for the injustice which He never forgives, this is associating partners with Him;² for He said (in His book —Q. xxxi. 12), 'Verily associating partners with Him is a great injustice.'³ The injustice which does not last long is injustice by God's slaves to one another. The injustice which God does forgive is injustice which a man inflicts on himself through sin; but when he repents and returns to God on High, the Strong and Glorious Lord will forgive him and carry him to Paradise.

The quality which kings most need is correct religion, because monarchy and religion are like brothers.⁴ (The king) needs it equally whether he be healthy or sick. He must be diligent in matters of religion, performing the duties at the proper times, avoiding eccentricity and (heretical) innovation,⁵ and shunning unjust and immoral actions. If he hears that any person in his territory is suspect as regards religion, he must summon him and

¹ Ar. (I), *Ibn 'Umar*. Ar. (H), 'Umar.

² *Shirk*. See art. in *Shorter E.I.*

³ The speaker in the Qur'ān is the sage Luqmān.

⁴ Ar. (I), 'Religion and empire (*al-dīn wa'l-dawlah*) are twins'; a well-known saying usually attributed to Ardashīr Pābakān (e.g. Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhbār, Cairo, 1343/1925–1349/1930, i, p. 13; and the extracts from the 'Testament of Ardashīr' in M. Kurd 'Alī ed., *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*, Damascus, 1365/1946, p. 384).

⁵ *Hawā' wa bid'at*. Innovation was generally assumed by Sunnites to be heretical. *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Bid'a*. Cf. p. 15, note 6.

interrogate him until he repents, or else punish him or exile him from the territory; in this way the kingdom will be purged of eccentrics and (heretical) innovators, and Islām will be strong. He must keep the borderlands¹ populated by sending garrisons, strive to increase the power of Islām, and keep the Prophet's *Sunnah*² fresh (and vigorous); in these ways he will earn praise, (become great) in the eyes of his subjects and formidable in the eyes of his enemies, and attain high merit and dignity.

You should understand that the piety of the people depends on the good character of the king. He must keep an eye on the activities of the subjects, small or great, and never connive at evil-doing on their part. He must honour the virtuous and reward good-doers, and he must restrain evil-doers from their wickedness and punish their evil-doing, without respect (for persons). The people will then choose to act virtuously and refrain from evil. When the king is incapable of enforcing discipline and tolerates evil-doers, his affairs will go to ruin along with theirs. Sages have said that the character of subjects springs from the character of kings; for the common people and the royal officials and troops³ become good or bad through the instrumentality of their kings inasmuch as they acquire their habits from them. Have not you observed how it is reported in the chronicles that Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik when Caliph concerned himself wholly with development and prosperity; that Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik was in the habit of eating and indulging to excess; and that 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz was concerned to serve God? Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Faḍl said . . . ⁴ 'I did not know that the activities of the people depend on the activities of the Sultān of the epoch. However,' he continued, 'in the reign of Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik, the people concerned themselves with planting gardens and orchards and

¹ *Thaghar-hā*; Ar. (I) *al-Thughūr*. The term was applied to frontiers with infidels and in particular to Cilicia and the Antioch district on the Byzantine frontier. But Mas'ūdī, *Prairies d'Or*, ii, p. 207, ascribes to Buzurgmihr the maxim 'keep an alert eye on the frontiers so as to recognize and ward off danger'.

² The 'custom' or 'precedent' of Islām, as opposed to 'innovation' (*bid'ah*). Sunnites ascribed the entire *Sunnah* to Muḥammad. It was elaborated during the three centuries after his death and contains elements from many sources. *Shorter E.I.*, arts. *Sunna* and *Hadīth*.

³ *Hasham* ('retinue').

⁴ P. (H) has 'Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Faḍl says that Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī is quoted (as having said) that . . .'. Ar. (I) has only 'Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Faḍl said . . .'.

building houses, and in the reign of Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik with eating well—they used to ask one another, "What have you cooked?" and "What have you eaten?" Whereas in the reign of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz the people concerned themselves wholly with serving God, reciting the Qur'ān, giving charity and doing good works.' In view of this, you will understand that the people in every epoch choose to do as their Sultān does. Now¹ every individual's nature contains envy, ambition, spite, cupidity, and love of pleasure; and when people get a (free) hand from kings they indulge their desires, but when the king is right-minded they likewise repress these things and cease indulging their desires—as I heard in the following story.

Anecdote

It is related that in the days of Anūshīrvān the Just, a certain man bought a house from another man and found a (hoard of) treasure in it. He immediately went to the seller and told him, 'You sold me such and such a place, and the things which are in it are yours.'² There was a long dispute between them, and they went to Anūshīrvān. 'Do you have children?' he asked. One of them replied, 'I have a son', and the other, 'I have a daughter'. Then the king said, 'Become kinsmen forthwith, so that it may belong to you both and to your children also.' This they did, and they were well satisfied with each other.

Now what would you say if those two men had lived in the days of an unjust Sultān? Each would have asserted that the treasure was his own property. But because they knew that their king was just, they strove to be honest.

Aphorism

Sages have said that kings are like bazaars. Everybody takes to the bazaar those of his wares which he knows are in most demand, and does not take to the bazaar anything which he knows is not in demand.

The two men who had the dispute over the hoard of treasure knew that their king possessed piety, justice, and honesty and was a

¹ The passage from this point to the end of the paragraph is lacking in Ar. (I) and Ar. (H).

² Ar. (I) makes the seller reply: 'I do not want it. I do not covet other men's property.'

buyer of these wares; they accordingly took these same wares to him and laid them before him, thereby gaining happiness.¹ There is a saying current among the people of this present age that 'We get the *Amirs* whom we deserve', meaning that in so far as we are wicked, treacherous and dishonest, they are unjust like us. In our opinion this is erroneous, because we have found and verified that good men are good through the instrumentality of kings and that the conduct of mankind varies with their conduct. Have not you remarked how people will describe a city as one whose inhabitants do not complain of one another and are not maltreated by their Sultān? It is not because of their own excellence, but because of the excellence of the Sultān, that no complaint is heard from anybody; and if this Sultān who has not been receiving complaints does (eventually) receive one from somebody, (the fact will be that) the inhabitants did not previously have any complaints to make. You should know that there is a saying of the Sages that 'the people of an epoch resemble their kings more than they resemble their epoch', and that there is a saying in the Traditions that 'the people follow the religion of their kings'.

The discipline maintained by Anūshīrvān was such that if a person dropped an ass-load of gold in some place, nobody except the owner would dare to take it, even though it had been left there a long time. Yūnān the Dastūr once said to Anūshīrvān: 'Do not connive at injustice; for (if you do), your realm will become deserted and your subjects impoverished. You will then be the King of the Beggars and Governor of the Ruins, and you will not possess this present glory.' Anūshīrvān thereupon sent letters to his revenue officers,² saying: 'If I get news that the land is uncultivated in any spot except where it is uncultivable, I shall hang the revenue officer at that very spot.'

Desertion and ruin of a territory result from two things: royal weakness and royal tyranny, each of which causes hardship among the yeomen.³ In the old days the kings kept up a jealous rivalry (to see) whose territory was the more populated and prosperous⁴ (as the following story shows).

¹ Ar. (I) has here a long, rhymed sentence about the wickedness of contemporary people and injustice of contemporary Amirs.

² 'Ummāl, pl. of 'āmil. See p. 15, note 4.

³ *Dihqānān*. The landowners and headmen who formed the keystone of the Irānian social structure in both Sāsānian and Islāmic times. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 112.

⁴ *Ābādān*. Cf. p. 37, note 3.

Anecdote

They say that the King of India sent an emissary to Anūshīrvān with the following message: 'I am superior in sovereignty. Pay tribute to me!' Anūshīrvān assigned a lodging for the emissary. On the following day he assembled the senior officials and summoned the emissary, to whom he said: 'Hear the answer to the message which you brought.' Then Anūshīrvān called for a box and took out of it a small golden casket; and out of this he took a handful of capers (*kabar*), which he gave to the emissary, asking, 'Are there any of these in your country?' 'Yes, plenty', replied the emissary. 'Go hence,' said Anūshīrvān to the emissary, 'and tell the King of India that he should first make his country prosperous and populated, as it has gone to ruin and been overwhelmed by pride (*kibr*).¹ After that let him covet this prosperous kingdom. If you tour my realm in search of caper-bushes, you will not find a single one; and if I hear that a single caper-bush exists anywhere in my territory, I will have the local revenue officer hanged on a gallows.'

The king² must follow the precepts and methods of these kings who preceded him, and govern righteously like them. He must also read the Books of Good Counsel,³ for these predecessors lived long lives, went through many experiences, and learnt by experience to distinguish right from wrong; just as Anūshīrvān, despite all his righteousness, used to read the books of the former (kings),⁴ ask for anecdotes about them and follow their ways. The kings of this present age have even more reason to do so, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

Anūshīrvān asked Yūnān the Dastūr to inform him about the ways of the earlier (kings). 'How many things shall I say in praise of them?' he replied; 'three, two or one?' 'What are these three things?' Anūshīrvān asked. 'At no time', Yūnān the Dastūr answered, 'did I see ignorance in them; at no time dishonesty; and at no time anger.' 'What are the two other things?' he asked. 'They

¹ The story has been built up around the Arabic pun, *kabar* and *kibr* (Ar.) being spelt identically. Caper-bushes grow in rock-crevices and waste places. See Introduction, pp. lxiv-lxv, and p. 82, note 2. ² *Pādshāh*; Ar. (I), *al-malik*.

³ *Pandnāmāh-hā*; Ar. (I), *kutub mawā'izihim*. See Introduction, p. lxvi.

⁴ *Muqaddamān*; Ar. (I), *al-mutaqaddamin*. Possibly the 'ancients' in general may be meant.

were always in haste to do good and on guard not to do evil.' 'Tell me the one other thing', Anūshīrvān said. 'Their kingship and their courage', he answered, 'depended more on their own selves than on (other) men.' Anūshīrvān called for wine, and said: 'Let us drink (of this cup to the happiness of) the brave men who will come after us and hold the crown, throne and cap.¹ May they remember us, just as we remember those who were before us!'

The unluckiest (of men) is he who is conceited because he is king. He does not make the world prosperous, and he does not find happiness. He does not know how to live (a good life). He will depart from this world reluctantly, leaving behind him an unpleasant notoriety, and (will suffer) in the next world remorse, despair, and eternal torment.

The point (of these remarks) is that (the kings of old) strove to make their realms prosperous, with the result that their good reputations still endure as men of whom people say, 'He has left a good name.' The following story shows this.

Anecdote

Anūshīrvān had a garden called 'The Thousand Delights'.² On a certain occasion the Caesar (of the Romans), the Emperor (of China), the Khāqān (of the Turks) and the King of India³ had come and were sitting in that garden at a reception given for them by Anūshīrvān. 'Nothing in this world', said the Caesar, 'is as good as the good name with which he is mentioned in this company. Why are not we like him?' 'Come,' said Anūshīrvān, 'let us do good deeds and think good thoughts!'⁴ 'When you think a good thought,' said the Chinese Emperor, 'you have done a good deed; and when you achieve virtue, you will find success.' 'First think good thoughts and then do them,' said the Khāqān; 'thus will you

¹ *Kulāh*. Not in Ar. (I). Probably the *qalansūwah*, a tall, pointed hat worn by the 'Abbāsid Caliphs (who did not use crowns, though the local Sultāns and Amīrs did so); Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, pp. 130-1. On the famous crown of Anūshīrvān, see Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 397.

² *Hazār Kām*. See Christensen, op. cit., p. 386, description of Ctesiphon.

³ *Qaysar u Faghfūr u Khāqān u Malik-i Hindūstān*. There is no historical record of such a meeting; but according to the *Fārsnāmāh*, ed. G. L'Estrange and R. A. Nicholson, *G.M.S.*, n.s., 1921, p. 97, it was Anūshīrvān's custom to place three other golden thrones beside and behind his own throne: one for the King of China, one for the King of Rūm, and one for the King of the Khazars. See also Introduction, p. lxvii.

⁴ Perhaps this reflects the Zoroastrian motto 'Good thoughts, good words, good deeds'.

earn praise.' 'God protect me', said the King of India, 'from thoughts of which, if they were revealed, I should be ashamed; by which, if they were spoken, I should be embarrassed; and for which, if I did them, I should be sorry.' 'What do you consider best?' the Caesar asked Anūshīrvān. He answered, 'To satisfy a man's petition when he is in need.' The Khāqān said, 'I consider it best to remain without sin, so that I may remain without fear.'

Observe how (excellent) was the justice of those kings whose conversation was such, and how (admirable) their attitude towards the subjects!

As for the characters of the kings of Islām,¹ you will constantly hear stories of their just and righteous conduct, which were indeed such that talk of their justice will remain on men's tongues till the Resurrection day.

It is related that the Prince of the Believers 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, God be pleased with him, maintained such strict discipline that he put his own son in the pillory² and applied the divinely ordained penalty³ to him until he perished right there. Whenever 'Umar sent a revenue officer⁴ to any place, he used to tell him: 'Pay for horses, weapons and things you want out of your own money and do not touch the Public Funds⁵ of the Muslims. Keep your door open to the needy.'

Anecdote

'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Awf stated: 'One night the Prince of the Believers 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb summoned me and said, "A caravan has halted at the city gate. We must make sure that nobody takes any of their goods when they lie down to sleep." I went with him, and [when we reached the halting-place, he said,] "You go to sleep!" Then he himself kept guard over the caravan all night long until daybreak.'

¹ *Sīrat-i Sultān-i Islām*; perhaps a copyist's error for *Sālāṭin* (Sultāns). Ar. (I) has *Yā Sultānu'l-Islām* ('O Sultān of Islām'), and makes the sentence appear as referring to the old kings.

² *Uqābayn*; according to Hāim, *New Persian-English Dictionary*, ii, p. 369, 'an instrument of torture consisting of two posts between which the victim was suspended'. Hāim adds 'sewn up in a hide'. Ar. (I) has *al-'iqāb*, 'punishment'.

³ *Ḥadd-i khudā'i*. Probably the lash. *Shorter E.I.*, arts. *Ḥadd* and *Adhāb*.

⁴ *Āmil*. See p. 15, note 4.

⁵ *Bayt al-māl*, q.v. in *E.I.* (2).

Aphorism

The Prince of the Believers 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said: 'I must set out on a journey to make sure that the people's affairs are being put right; because within the realm dwell many defenceless persons who cannot come to me. I must tour the realm to observe the revenue officers and inquire about their characters, and I must satisfy the petitions of the needy. It will be the best-spent year in all my life.'

Anecdote¹

Zayd ibn Aslam said: 'One night I saw 'Umar patrolling with the night-guard. I joined him and marched with him. "O Prince of the Believers," I said, "authorize me to go out on patrol with you!" "It is allowed", he said; and I went with him. When we were out of the city, we caught sight of a fire a long way off. "Perhaps some (traveller) has halted there", we said. When we reached the place, we saw a woman with two or three small children. They were weeping. The woman had placed a pot on the fire, and she was saying, "May God get (me) justice from 'Umar; for he has eaten his fill and we are hungry." On hearing this, 'Umar, God be pleased with him, stepped forth and greeted her, asking, "May I come up?" The woman replied, "If you come with good intentions, you may." 'Umar went up and questioned the woman. She answered, "We came from a certain place and arrived here hungry and tired out. The hunger has made us miserable, and we cannot sleep." "What is in this pot?" asked the Prince of the Believers. She replied, "There is water in it. I hope to quieten the children with this pretence." The Prince of the Believers 'Umar then went back and during the same night made his way to a flour-merchant's shop, where he bought a sack of flour which he slung over his shoulder. Then he went to a grocer's shop and bought some cooking-fat. "O Prince of the Believers," I said, "give me these things and let me carry them!" "If you carry this load," he replied, "who will carry my load of sin and ward off that woman's malediction from me?" He began weeping, and walked until he came up to them again. "May God reward you with blessings!" said the woman; "you are better fitted to look after the Muslims than

¹ This story, with Zayd ibn Aslam as the narrator, appears also in the *Siyasat-nāmah*, chap. xi. Nizām al-Mulk's version is longer, but less impressive; he makes the woman recognize 'Umar in the end.

'Umar is." He then put a little cooking-fat into the pot, together with some flour, and kindled a fire beneath the pot. Whenever the fire died down, he blew on it, and the ash settled on his beard.¹ He continued thus until (the meal) was cooked. Then he put it into a bowl and said to the children, "Eat!" 'Umar's next words were to the woman. "Do not wish 'Umar ill," he told her, "as he had no knowledge of your troubles." That was all he said. Then he left.'

'Umar was the first to be called Prince of the Believers,² Abū Bakr having (only) been called Successor of God's Apostle.³ When 'Umar's turn came, people began to say Successor of the Successor of God's Apostle; but 'Umar said that all those who ascended (the throne subsequently) would then be called Successor of the Successor of the . . ., which would be too long. 'O people,' he asked, 'am I your Prince?' They answered 'Yes.' 'Then call me Prince of the Believers,' he said; 'but I am still the same son of al-Khaṭṭāb.'

It is related that the Treasurer of the Public Funds was once asked: 'Did the Prince of the Believers 'Umar ever take liberties with the Public Funds?' The Treasurer replied: 'When he had nothing to eat (for his next meal), he would take just the amount for that (meal); and as soon as he acquired anything, he would repay.' One day 'Umar delivered the sermon and said: 'O people! In the time of the Prophet the divine inspiration⁴ used to come down, and through that inspiration he used to know men's outward acts and inward thoughts, both good and bad. Now the inspiration has ceased, and we view every person by his public behaviour; but God the Strong and Glorious is well aware of men's secret motives. I try to ensure that neither I nor my assistants and revenue officers ever take anything from the people (wrongfully) nor ever give (anything to anybody wrongfully).'

If you wish to learn why justice, piety and equitable rule are what leave a Sulṭān with a good name, you should study the reports about 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz; for not one of the descendants of Marwān and Umayyah possessed the admirable qualities which were his, and not one of them is a subject of men's prayers and

¹ *Maḥāsin*; the beard and moustache were considered the most handsome of the features. Ar. (I), 'face'.

² *Amīr al-Mu'minīn*. Alternatively, 'Commander of the Faithful'.

³ *Khalīfah-yi Rasūl Allāh*; i.e. 'Caliph'. But the 'Abbāsids were called *Khalīfat Allāh*, which was taken to mean 'Viceroy of God'. See below, p. 77, note 1.

⁴ *Wahy*. See art. in *Shorter E.I.*

praises as is he, thanks to his having been pure in faith and righteous in conduct, as the following story shows.

Anecdote¹

They say that in the days of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz a severe drought occurred. A party of Arab nomads came to the court of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz headed by a man who was to state their case, which was as follows: 'The skin on our bodies is parched through lack of nourishment. Our relief is in your Public Funds. The money in the Public Treasury is of three kinds only: it belongs either to God or to His slaves or to you. If it belongs to God, He has no need of it, so give it to His slaves; if it belongs to God's slaves, give it to them; if it belongs to you, then (Q. xii. 88) "give it to us in charity. Verily God recompenses the charitable."'² Tears came to the eyes of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, and he replied, 'It is as you have said.' Then he ordered that their needs be satisfied from the Treasury. The nomad (spokesman) requested permission to leave, and 'Umar ibn 'al-'Azīz said to him: 'O man, you have stated the case of God's slaves to me. State my case likewise to God on High!' The nomad Arab turned his face to the sky and said, 'O Lord, in Your strength and glory do for 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz what he has done for Your slaves.' At that very moment a cloud came up and rain began to fall. During the rain-storm a large hailstone came down, and dropped onto a baked brick and broke. Out of it came a letter, which said: 'This warrant is from Me, God on High, to 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz. I have exempted 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz from hell-fire.'

Anecdote

They say that 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz sat up one night studying by lamp-light certain items in the daily report on the subjects.³ Suddenly a page⁴ entered and began speaking of some domestic matter. 'Put out the lamp,' said 'Umar, 'and then speak; for this oil belongs to the Public Treasury, and the people's property ought not to be used except for the people's business.'

If the king is just, his self-denial will be such as this, as the following story shows.

¹ This story also occurs in the *Siyāsatnāmah*, chap. viii.

² In the Qur'ān, Joseph's brothers are the speakers.

³ *Qışah-hā-yi rūznāmah-yi ra'iyat*; Ar. (I), *qışaṣ al-ra'āyā wa aḥwālhim*.

⁴ *Ghulām*. See p. 22, note 3.

Anecdote

They say that 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz had a slave¹ who controlled and supervised the Public Treasury. 'Umar also had three daughters. On the ninth day of the Month of the Pilgrimage, 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz's daughters came to him and said: 'Tomorrow is the Feast.'² The wives and daughters of the subjects chide us, saying, "The daughters of the Prince of the Believers are not important enough to wear white robes."³ 'Umar's daughters wept, and his heart was moved. He summoned the slave-official who was Treasurer, and told him, 'Take one month's worth of my subsistence allowance from the Public Funds and supply their requirements from it.' 'O Prince of the Believers,' replied the Treasurer, 'are you going to take a month's subsistence allowance out of the Public Funds? First reflect! You have another month's living ahead.' 'God bless you, O slave, you have spoken aright,' said 'Umar; and he then told his daughters: 'Repress your longings; for no Muslim will attain Paradise without self-denial.'

Whenever Princes have had characteristics such as these, their officials and troops⁴ have had similar characteristics.

Perfect justice consists of this: that you treat the unknown litigant of no repute and the well-known litigant of high worldly rank and dignity with complete impartiality in (your handling of) claims and disputes, viewing each with the same eye and not favouring one over the other. For in the world to come, the jewel and the potsherd will be equal in value, and dignity will save no man from getting burnt in the fire. For example, if a claim were lodged against the king by an uninfluential person, the king should withdraw from the seat of sovereignty⁵ and submit the case to God's jurisdiction, and then grant redress against himself⁶ and satisfy (the aggrieved person). Let him take as his rule God's words (Qur'ān, xvi. 92): 'Verily God enjoins justice and kindness.' The fact is that if you have a claim on some person for money or anything else, you should absolve him of it without demanding gratitude from him. You should also instruct your revenue officers

¹ *Ghulām*: as above, preceding note.

² The *'Id al-'Adhā*, or *Qurbān Bayram*, which falls on the 10th Dhū'l-Hijjah.

³ The significance of *white robes* is not apparent. The pilgrimage costume (*iḥrām*) is white, but it does not appear that they were on pilgrimage.

⁴ *Hawāshi wa khadam*; 'retinue and servants' (i.e. slave-troops).

⁵ *Sadr-i mulk*; likewise in Ar. (I).

⁶ Missing in Ar. (I). Cf. the Sāsānid custom described on pp. 102-3 below.

and trusted agents to act in the same way and perform their duties in the same spirit. There will then be no questions concerning the subjects (for the ruler to answer at the Resurrection day); for God's Apostle is reported to have said that every shepherd will be questioned concerning his flock and every king concerning his subjects. Such is the position, and you should know it.

Anecdote

They say that the Amīr of Khurāsān, Ismā'il ibn Aḥmad, had stopped at Marv, and that it was his custom wherever he stopped to bid a herald proclaim that no soldier of his had any business (to interfere) with the subjects. Then one of his ass-drivers went into a vegetable garden and caused a little damage; and the vegetable gardeners came to the gate of the Amīr's palace and complained. The Amīr ordered that the ass-driver be fetched, and asked him, 'Do you get pay?' He answered, 'I do.' The Amīr asked, 'Did not you hear the herald?' He answered, 'I did.' The Amīr asked, 'Then why did you cause damage to my subjects?' He answered, 'I made a mistake.' The Amīr said, 'I cannot risk going to Hell because of your mistakes'; and he ordered that the ass-driver's hand be cut off, which they did.

Anecdote

Another story about Ismā'il the Sāmānid is told in the Book of Rules for Conduct by Kings.¹ He was then at Jū-yi Mūliyān,² and whenever he arose and went to cross the stream, he would bid a herald proclaim (that he would be holding audience); and (after) the noon prayer he would remove the curtain, and there would be no chamberlain or janitor (at his door). Thus any aggrieved person could enter, walk up to the edge of the carpet, state his case to the

¹ *Kitāb Siyar ul-Mulūk*; the second title of the *Siyāsatnāmah* of Niẓām ul-Mulk; cf. p. 74, note 7. In chap. iii, para. 23, the *Siyāsatnāmah* has a quite different story of how Ismā'il ibn Aḥmad the Sāmānid feared lest the people be unable in snowy weather to come to him for the redress of grievances, and would therefore ride to the main square of Bukhārā and there hold audience in the snow. The story of 'Amr ibn Layth's attempted bribe and Ismā'il's response is told at much greater length in paras. 20 and 21.

² A stream or canal and irrigated estate near Bukhārā where the Sāmānid Amīrs had palaces and gardens. The superb verses improvised by Rūdākī for the Amīr Naṣr ibn Aḥmad begin by celebrating the perfumes of Jū-yi Mūliyān (quoted by Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī in his *Chahār Maqālah*, ed. E. G. Browne, *G.M.S.* xi. 1; tr. E. G. Browne, *G.M.S.* xi. 2, p. 35 and note xvi).

Amīr and depart satisfied. The Amīr would continue dealing with the cases, in the manner of a revenue officer,¹ until all were settled. Then he would arise, taking hold of his beard and turning his face to the sky, and say: 'O Lord, this is the effort which I have made. I do not know whether injustice has been done to any of Your slaves by my hand. You are aware of my sincere intention,² for injustice is repugnant to me. Forgive, O Lord, any lack of perception on my part.'

Ismā'il's character being so good, his affairs were bound to prosper. His entire army numbered a thousand men, while 'Amr ibn Layth had a hundred thousand men, all lavishly armoured in iron and equipped (with weapons); but God on High gave him the victory over 'Amr ibn Layth by blessing him with justice and equity. Having acquired the world, Ismā'il treated 'Amr ibn Layth with kindness. Then 'Amr ibn Layth sent a man to him with this message: 'You should know that I possess large sums of money in Khurāsān and 'Irāq. I am making an inventory, which I shall send to you. Unless others take the money, it is yours.' When Ismā'il heard these words, he laughed and said: 'Amr ibn Layth is not being straight with me even now. He wishes to put all the crimes and sins that he has committed onto my shoulders, and thus lighten his burden before he goes to the next world.' 'Inform 'Amr ibn Layth', he told (the messenger), 'that I do not need it.' Later he sent 'Amr ibn Layth to Baghdād.³ Ismā'il exercised the amirate over Khurāsān with great dignity and received robes of honour from the Prince of the Believers. The government remained with his family one hundred and thirty years. When the government passed to the 'youngsters',⁴ these latter oppressed the people; sovereignty has (now) passed from their hands.

In the Traditions⁵ the following sayings of God's Apostle are quoted: 'One hour of just government by a Sulṭān is better than

¹ *Āmil*; Ar. (I): 'like governors' (*hukkām*).

² *Niyat*. Cf. p. 4, note 6.

³ Ar. (I): 'He (Ismā'il) sent him as a messenger to Baghdād, and then he received a robe of honour and other honours from the Prince of the Believers.' Ismā'il must have been the recipient of the Caliphal honours, as 'Amr was executed after a year's captivity at Baghdād by order of the newly acceded Caliph al-Muktafi, in 289/902. *E.I.* (2), art. 'Amr ibn Layth.

⁴ *Kūdākān*; Ar. (I), *ilā aṣāghirihim wa ṣibyānihim*. Presumably these disparaging terms refer to the Ghaznavids, who overthrew the Sāmānids and were overthrown by Ghazālī's patrons the Saljūqs.

⁵ *Khabar*. See Introduction, p. lvii.

sixty¹ years of worship by (pious) worshippers.' 'To give redress to the victim of injustice is to purify one's mind.' 'He who draws the sword of oppression will find the sword of defeat drawn against him by God, and will never escape sorrow.' As the poet says:

Your face can be cheerful, but always grows glum
Whenever you see an injustice redressed.
So say what it is that you would like to hear
And don't kill unless you would like to be killed!²

Anecdote³

One day David was looking at the weather, when he saw raining out of the sky something like chaff. 'My God, what is this?', he asked. A revelation came down: 'O David, this is My curse which I rain down upon descendants of oppressors.'

Anecdote

When Anūshīrvān the Just held the kingship, Yūnān was his Dastūr.⁴ He sent a letter to Anūshīrvān saying: 'O King, man's conduct⁵ is of three kinds. (i) He⁶ may grant redress and not ask for it; [manifestly this is justice], and it is the highest category. (ii) He may grant redress and ask for it; this is justice, and it is the intermediate category. (iii) He may not grant redress and not ask for it; this is the (lowest) category of injustice. Consider which of these is to your liking, and choose. I know that our king will not choose injustice.'

Anecdote⁷

Anūshīrvān was asked, 'Which king is most admired?' He replied, 'The one of whom the enemies are most afraid, by whom the highways are (kept) most safe, and in the shadow of whose justice the subjects are best protected.'

Anecdote

Shabīb ibn Shabbah went one day to (the Caliph) Mahdī and said, 'O Prince of the Believers, God on High has given you the

¹ Ar. (I): 'seventy'.

² Thus also in Ar. (H); but H. conjectures 'And don't speak in ways you would not like to hear.'

³ Not in Ar. (I).

⁴ Ar. (I): 'Yūnān the Sage the Minister (*al-ḥakīm al-wazīr*) wrote to him.'

See Introduction, pp. lxvi-lxviii.

⁵ Ar. (I): 'the conduct of kings'.

⁶ Ar. (I): 'He may grant redress to his subjects.'

⁷ Not in Ar. (I).

entire lower world; since you enjoy such ease, give a little of this world to the subjects!' 'What ought I to give to the subjects?' he asked. 'Justice and equitable rule,' he replied; 'for if, thanks to you, the subjects can sleep safely (in their beds), you also will be able to sleep safely in the tomb.' 'O Prince of the Believers,' he continued, 'beware of the eve which has no morrow, and of the day after which no night comes! As long as you can, award justice; for it is through justice that you will get justice, and through injustice that you will get injustice. Adorn yourself with righteousness, for at the tribunal of the Resurrection no man will lend you his adornment.'

With righteousness should you your person adorn;
You can't hope to get it from anyone else.¹

Anecdote

A letter reached Anūshīrvān from the Caesar of the Romans, asking 'Wherein lies the stability of the King's rule?' Anūshīrvān wrote in reply: 'I never issue orders thoughtlessly, and when I issue orders I carry them out. I never leave behind hope or fear; that is to say, if I give cause for hope, I fulfil it, and if I give cause for fear, I do not shrink from doing what I have said.'

Anecdote

Aristotle was asked, 'What great man is worthy to be called king, or is God alone (worthy)?' He answered, 'The man in whom you will find certain things, however lacking he be in other qualities.' Then he continued, 'First of all knowledge,² and (then) forbearance,³ compassion, clemency, generosity and the like; because great men⁴ owe their greatness to the divine effulgence⁵ and to their radiance of soul, pureness of body, and breadth of intellect and knowledge, as well as the dominion which has long been in

¹ Ar. (H) and Ar. (I) have two Arabic distichs: 'Beautify and adorn yourself with piety.—A pious man never begs among the people.—The hand of kindness does not wither; so preach (? or have a share of) (kindness).—It sells well (? or you will make a good profit), and the capital does not dwindle.'

² 'Ilm; Ar. (I), *al-'amal*, 'work'—but perhaps a copyist's error.

³ *Burdbāri*; Ar. (I), *al-'adl*, 'justice'.

⁴ *Buzurgān*; Ar. (I), *al-mulūk*, 'kings'.

⁵ *Farr-i īzādī*; Ar. (I), *al-ḡill al-ilāhī*, 'the divine shadow'. Cf. p. 45, note 6. See Introduction, p. xli. Tha'ālibī, *Histoire des Rois des Perses*, ed. Zotenberg, p. 7, explains it as the divine majesty which is from time to time reflected in kings.

their family. (It is because of these things that) they are and have been kings.'

The divine effulgence¹ is expressed in sixteen things;² intelligence, knowledge,³ sharpness of mind, ability to perceive things, perfect physique, literary taste,⁴ horsemanship,⁵ application to work, and courage; together with boldness, deliberation, good temper, impartiality towards the weak and the strong, friendliness, magnanimity, maintaining tolerance and moderation, judgement and foresight in business, frequent reading of the reports of the early Muslims,⁶ and constant attention to the Biographies of the Kings⁷ and inquiry concerning the activities of the Kings of Old; because the present world is the continuation of the empire of the forerunners, who reigned and departed, each leaving a memory to his name and [acquiring] treasure in this life and the next. The treasure for the next life is righteous conduct, and the treasure in this life is a good name among the people.

¹ Ar. (I): 'The meaning of their phrase *Farr-i Izadī* is the Divine Shadow and it is manifested in . . .'

² Thus in Ar. (I) and Ar. (H); P. (H) has 'twelve things'. The qualities listed add up to considerably more than sixteen, but some may be intended to go in pairs. Dr. W. Montgomery Watt kindly drew attention to the resemblance of these qualities to the qualities listed by Fārābī in his *Ārā' Ahlī l-Madīnati' l-Fāḍilah*, ed. and tr. F. Dieterici, Leiden, 1900, text pp. 59-61, tr. pp. 94-97. According to Fārābī, the Imām, who is the first head of the virtuous city, head of the virtuous community, and head of whole inhabited world, requires the following twelve qualities: (i) soundness of limb, (ii) understanding and imagination, (iii) memory, (iv) sagacity and astuteness, (v) good powers of expression, (vi) willingness and ability to be taught, (vii) indifference to food, drink, women, play and pleasures, (viii) love of truth and hatred of lying, (ix) magnanimity and generosity, (x) contempt for worldly wealth, (xi) love of justice and hatred of injustice, (xii) firmness and boldness in doing what ought to be done. The second (and subsequent) heads of the virtuous city require six additional qualities: (i) wisdom, (ii) knowledge, especially of the laws, customs and rules prescribed for the city by the forerunners, (iii) skill in deduction, especially in deducing what would have been the purpose of the first Imām in matters for which the forerunners have set no precedent, (iv) insight, especially in getting to the bottom of matters not experienced by the forerunners, (v) skill in guiding the people through telling them about the laws laid down by the first Imām and that which has been deduced therefrom, (vi) bodily steadfastness in war, proved both in service and in leadership. Fārābī's lists of qualities are based upon Plato's *Republic*, 485-7A. See Introduction, p. lxxiii.

³ 'Ilm. Ar. (I), *al-'amal*, 'work'; probably a copyist's error.

⁴ *Farhang*. Not in Ar. (I).

⁵ P. (H) adds: 'and fine accoutrements'.

⁶ *Salaf*. The Companions and contemporaries of Muḥammad.

⁷ *Siyar ul-Mulūk*. Cf. p. 70, note 1. Perhaps the reference here is to the *Khvudāynāmah*, which was known in Arabic as *Siyar ul-Mulūk*. See Introduction, p. lx.

Aphorism

Alexander asked Aristotle whether courage or justice is higher. He answered, 'If the king has ruled justly, he will not need courage.'

Anecdote

One day Alexander was riding with his army. One of them said to him, 'God on High has given you a great empire. Take many wives so that you may have many children. Then your influence in the world will endure.' He answered: 'The memory (which a man leaves) is not of sons, but of righteous customs and good morals. When a person has acquired dominion over the men in this world, it would not be right that the women should acquire dominion over him.'¹

Anecdote

Alexander dismissed a certain nobleman from his staff and gave him a paltry employment. Later the man came one day to Alexander, who asked him, 'How do you like your employment?' He answered, 'May the king's life be long. A man is not great through his employment; but an employment may be made honourable and noble through good conduct and through the practice of justice and equity.' This very much pleased Alexander, who reinstated and further promoted him.

Aphorism

Socrates said: 'The whole world has been built up through justice. If injustice entered in, it would no longer stand firm.'

Aphorism

Buzurgmihr was asked, 'Wherein lies the king's strength?' He answered, 'The king's strength is manifested in three things: in his watch over the outlying regions through his journeys, in his self-defence against the enemy, and in his affection for the doctors of religion and the scholars.'²

¹ In the *Siyāsatnāmāh*, chap. xlii, and *Qābūs-nāmāh*, chap. xxvi, Alexander makes this remark in reply to suggestions that he marry a beautiful daughter of Dārā ibn Dārā.

² *Dānāyān va aṣḥāb-i faḍl*; Ar. (I), *al-'ulamā' wa . . . ahl al-faḍl*; i.e. clergy and men of letters. Ar. (I) attributes the following remarks also to Buzurgmihr, substituting 'inhabitants of the outlying regions' for 'subjects'.

Whenever Sultāns rule oppressively, insecurity appears; and however much prosperity there may be, this will not suit the subjects if accompanied by insecurity. However little prosperity there may be, this will not displease them if accompanied by security; on the contrary, it will suit them well, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

A pilgrim bound for Mecca lost his way and fell into a tract of sand-hills. He walked on until he came to a tent in which (he saw) an old woman and, at the entrance, a dog asleep. He greeted the old woman and asked her for food. 'Go and bring some snakes,' she told him; 'then I will roast them for you to eat.' 'I would not dare to catch snakes,' the pilgrim replied. 'I will come with you', the old woman said. Then she took the pilgrim and the dog with her and went to the edge of the barren sands. She caught several snakes, and brought them back and roasted them for the pilgrim to eat. 'O mother,' asked the pilgrim, 'have you any water?' 'There is a spring yonder,' she said; 'go and drink!' The pilgrim went to a well, and found the water brackish and bitter; but having no alternative, he drank and came back. 'I am amazed by what you do,' he told the old woman; 'how can you live in such a place and on food and water like this?' 'What sort of homes do you have?' she asked. He replied, 'We have nice homes and gardens, pleasant foods, rich meats, various comforts, and many kinds of fruit.' The old woman said, 'I heard all this. Tell me; is the man over you someone who oppresses you, and are you under his thumb? If you commit an error, does he dispossess you of wealth and property?' 'This does occur', answered the pilgrim. 'Then those pleasant foods,' said the old woman, 'those delicious sweets and those running waters contain fear, danger and injustice, all of which are poisons; while these foods (here) contain security, which is the bezoar stone.'¹

Have you not heard that the greatest blessings—after religion and being Muslim—are good health and security? Now the security of the world depends on the discipline maintained by the Sultān.

¹ *Pā-zahr*, whence 'bezoar'; 'a concretion found in the intestines of some animals, especially ruminants, and vulgarly supposed to be an antidote to poison'. Ar. (I) *tiryāq*, 'antidote'. This story (in Ar.) is quoted in G. W. Thatcher's translation of E. Harder's *Arabic Grammar*, London, 1910, pp. 311–12.

It is incumbent on the king to be a (strict) disciplinarian, because the Sultān is the Deputy¹ of God the Strong and Glorious. The Sultān ought to inspire such awe that the subjects, if they should see him from afar, would not dare to rise. The king of this present age (particularly) needs to maintain such discipline and inspire such awe, because the people of today are not the people of old times. On the contrary, this is an age when men are shameless, mannerless and merciless. If, God forbid, the Sultān in their midst were weak, universal ruin would befall the religion and the (whole) lower world; for a century, say, of unjust rule by Sultāns will not cause so much damage as one hour² of the injustice of subjects to one another. When the subjects oppress one another, God on High will appoint a forceful (and oppressive) ruler over them, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

They say that Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf was once given a piece of silver on which was inscribed: 'Fear God on High and do not oppress the people so much.' Ḥajjāj, who was exceedingly eloquent, went up into the pulpit and said: 'O people! God on High has set me in authority over you. If I depart, you will not get rid of oppression in the time after me by behaving as you do now. God has many slaves like me. If I go, one worse than I am will come.'

Anecdote³

Buzurgmihr was asked, 'Which Sultān is purest?' He answered, 'He through whom the pure are safe and of whom the wrongdoers are afraid.'

The Sultān who fails to maintain discipline inspires no awe in the eyes of the people; the subjects become discontented with him and always speak ill of him. Have not you seen how a provincial commoner who is appointed assessment officer⁴ will begin his career by speaking harshly and asserting his position through

¹ *Khalifah-yi Khudā*; Ar. (I), *Khalīfatū'llāh*. This title was used by the 'Abbāsid Caliphs instead of the earlier *Khalīfatū Rasūlī'llāh*, 'successor to God's Apostle'; cf. p. 67, note 3. On p. 45 above, another Caliphal attribute, that of 'Shadow of God on earth', is given to the 'Sultān'. Concerning the use of the term 'Sultān', cf. p. 45, note 5.

² Ar. (I): 'one year'.

³ Ar. (I) and Ar. (H) first have an Arabic verse: 'There is no hand over it but God's, and there is no tyrant who will not be consumed by another.'

⁴ *Amīl-i shumār*. Ar. (I), *tawallā*, 'is appointed *wālī* (governor)'.

strict discipline, knowing (full well) that the subjects still look upon him with the same eyes as before? (In this connexion there is a curious story.)

Anecdote

Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb had a son whom people called Ziyād ibn abihi (Ziyād, son of his father). This was because he had been born in the Days of Ignorance,¹ and Abū Sufyān had grown weary of him and used to say, 'He is not my son.'² When the control of affairs passed to Mu'āwiyah, however, the latter made him a close (associate) and gave him the governorship of 'Irāq. At the time of his assuming office, the inhabitants of 'Irāq were unruly folk, everywhere engaged in rebellion, robbery and other mischief. One Friday Ziyād came to the mosque, and went up into the pulpit and delivered the sermon.³ After the sermon, he said: 'By God, if I find any person out of doors after the bed-time prayer, I shall cut off his head. Let you who are here present notify those who are absent. I have decided, however, to grant three days' grace.' Then he went back to the governor's palace⁴ and stayed (indoors). After the days of grace had expired, he rode out with a large party of cavalry and toured the city, but then returned home. When it grew dark, he bided his time until one watch of the night had passed; then he went out and toured (the city). He saw an Arab nomad standing with some sheep in a gateway, and asked him 'Whence come you?' He replied, 'I have journeyed (hither) and stopped at this place until (the hour comes) for me to sell the sheep.' Ziyād said, 'I know that you are telling the truth; but if I let you off, the people will get word that Ziyād does not do as he says. My ability to enforce discipline will then be impaired, and my prestige and power to inspire awe will be broken. Anyhow, Paradise is better for you than this place.' So he gave the order, and (his soldiers) cut off the man's head. Then they moved on from that place and decapitated everybody they found, until by daybreak they had severed the heads of one thousand five hundred men from their bodies and piled up the heads on top of one another like a mountain at the gateway to the palace. Great terror came over the people because of this. The next night Ziyād made another tour; he found three hundred persons, and had them all beheaded.

¹ *Jāhiliyyah*; i.e. pre-Islāmic Mecca.

² *Khuṭbah*. *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Khuṭba*.

³ Cf. Q. xxxiii. 5.

⁴ *Sarāy-i Imārat*. Not in Ar. (I).

Thereafter nobody dared to go out after the bed-time prayer.¹ When Friday came, Ziyād went up into the pulpit and said: 'Do not lock the doors of the shops at night. If any of you suffer loss, I shall pay compensation.' From that night on, they did not dare to lock the doors of the shops at night. One day a money-changer came (to him) and said, 'I have been robbed of four hundred *dinārs*.' 'Can you swear to this?' Ziyād asked. 'I can', he replied. Then Ziyād administered the oath to him, gave four hundred *dinārs* compensation and told him, 'Say nothing to anybody.' On Friday, when the prayer was over, Ziyād went up into the pulpit and said: 'Take note that four hundred *dinārs* have been stolen from the money-changer so-and-so's shop. All the people are here present, and if you reveal the whereabouts of the four hundred *dinārs* of gold, [it will be restored to its owner]; but if you do not, I tell you once and for all that I shall let nobody out, and that I shall order (my troops) to kill you, all of you, here in this mosque.' Immediately they seized the perpetrator of the theft, who had aroused suspicion, and brought him before Ziyād. They also recovered the gold. Ziyād ordered that he be punished,² and this was done on the spot. After some time had passed, Ziyād asked which was the most insecure quarter in Baṣrah. They told him that it was the quarter of the Banū Azd.³ He gave orders that a valuable robe (of brocade) should be dropped there, in such a way that nobody would see (its being dropped). This was done several times, and nobody dared to pick up the robe. Then Ziyād's close associates said to him: 'The discipline which you maintain is excellent, but you have been too ruthless in liquidating so many people.' Ziyād replied: 'I got more evidence (against them) three days ago. These people could not restrain themselves from their misconduct. The evil which has come upon them came from their own evil actions.'

Counsel

Continual backgammon-playing,⁴ chess-playing,⁵ wine-drinking, ball-games (and hunting) do not befit the king because they

¹ *Namāz-i khuṭtan*; Ar. (I), *al-'ishā' al-ākhirah*. *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Ṣalāt*, p. 493.

² Ar. (I): 'crucified'.

³ The Azdites were the ruling tribe of 'Umān and had a powerful colony at Baṣrah. See Charles Pellat, *Le milieu basrien et la formation de Ḡāhiz*, Paris, 1953, pp. 23 f.

⁴ *Shatranj*.

⁵ *Nard*.

distract him from his task. Every task needs time; and when time is lacking, profit becomes loss and joy becomes sorrow.

The Khusraws of old divided the day and night into four parts. In one part they worshipped and did obeisance to God. In another part they attended to (the affairs of) the kingdom, giving redress to victims of injustice, discussing plans with the doctors (of religion) and the men of understanding, issuing decrees, writing dispatches, sending emissaries and performing other such royal functions. The third part was for eating and sleeping and for the happy and cheerful enjoyment of this (world). The fourth part they spent in hunting, polo-playing¹ and similar (sports).

Bahrām Gūr is reported to have divided his day into two halves. In one half he worked for the benefit of the people, and in the other half he relaxed. During the whole of his reign nobody worked all day long.

By order of Anūshīrvān, the *mobeds*² went up to a high place and observed which were the houses whence no smoke issued. (Then they came down) and inquired what had happened to the occupants (of those houses); and if they were in distress, they removed the distress from their hearts.

No king should ever tolerate extortion from the subjects by any revenue officer,³ as the following story shows.

Anecdote

It is related that one of Anūshīrvān's revenue officers sent him (three thousand) *dirhams* in excess of the assessed land revenue.⁴ Anūshīrvān ordered that the excess be returned to its owners and that the revenue officer be hanged;⁵ and these things were done.

A king who unjustly extorts wealth from the subjects and puts it into the treasury is like a man who builds the foundation for a

¹ *Chūgān-bāzi*; Ar. (I), *La'b al-kurah wa'l-ṣawlaḡān*.

² *Mūbadān*; the Zoroastrian priests, whose position in Sāsānid times is likened to that of the '*ulamā*' in Islāmic times. But Ar. (I) has *aṣḡābahu*, 'his (Anūshīrvān's) companions'. Ar. (H), *al-mūbadhān*.

³ '*Āmil*'; see p. 15, note 4.

⁴ *Kharāj*. See D. C. Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll-tax in Early Islam*, Cambridge, Mass., 1950; *Shorter E.I.*, arts. *Kharāj* and *Fai*. Anūshīrvān's tax reforms are described by Ṭabarī (tr. Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Araber und Perser zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leiden, 1879, pp. 241-7); they remained in force under the Muslims (Māwardī, *al-Aḡkam al-Sulṭāniyah*, tr. Fagnan, p. 313).

⁵ Ar. (I): 'crucified'.

wall (using) damp (brick) and puts the wall upon it when it is not yet dry; neither the top nor the bottom will endure.

The king must look after the world as he would look after his own house, so that the world may prosper and be developed.¹ What he takes (from the subjects) he must take in moderation, and what he gives he must give in moderation; for each of these things has its limit and its measure, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

One day Ma'mūn gave governorships² to four persons. To one he gave the governorship of Khūzistān and a robe of honour³ with a gift of (ten) thousand *dinārs*; to another the governorship of Egypt and a robe of honour with a gift of (ten) thousand *dinārs*; to another letters of commission⁴ to Khurāsān and a robe of honour with (ten) thousand *dinārs*; and likewise to the fourth [he gave the governorship of Armenia]. Then he summoned the Chief *Mobed*⁵ and said: 'Honoured Sir!⁶ In the days when your kings held the government of Persia they did not give such robes of honour (and gifts) to anybody. I have heard that they never went beyond four thousand *dinārs*.' The Chief *Mobed* replied: 'May the life of the Prince of the Believers be long! They had three things which you have not. Firstly, they took from the people moderately and they gave moderately. (Secondly), they took where (taking) was appropriate and they gave where (giving) was needed. (Thirdly), they were feared by no person other than the evil-doer.' Ma'mūn said, 'You have spoken truly,' and gave no further reply.

It was because of this that Ma'mūn found and opened the tomb of Anūshīrvān.⁸ He saw his face as if it were fresh and undecayed

¹ *Ābādān*. Cf. p. 37, note 3. Sentence missing in Ar. (I). ² *Wilāyat*.

³ *Khil'at*; the highest mark of Caliphal esteem, given to generals, *wazīrs*, and vassal princes, and accompanied by monetary gifts and later also titles (B. Spuler, *Iran in frühislamischer Zeit*, pp. 350 ff.). From this word through Spanish is derived the English word 'gala'. P. (H) has '3,000 *dinārs*' (but see below); perhaps *sih hazār* may be a copyist's error for *dah hazār*, '10,000'. Ar. (I) does not mention the 3,000 *dinārs*, saying only 'a robe of honour equal (in value) to it' (? to the respective governorship). ⁴ *Manshūr*; also in Ar. (I).

⁵ Ar. (I), *al-Mūbad-mūbadān*. The head of the Zoroastrian priesthood was known by this title in both Sāsānian and Islāmic times. P. (H), *mūbadān*.

⁶ *Yā diḡqān*, in both P. (H) and Ar. (I); cf. p. 62, note 3.

⁷ *Sic*; see note 3, above. Ar. (I): 'that their robes of honour were not worth more than 4,000 *dinārs*'.

⁸ P. (H), *dakhmah*, 'tower of silence'; Ar. (I), *turbah*, 'mausoleum'. Ar. (I) adds, 'and undid his coffin'. See Introduction, pp. lxvii-lxviii. A somewhat similar

and the robes on him fresh and undecayed. On his finger was a signet ring with a red ruby such as Ma'mūn's eye had never beheld, and on the bezel was inscribed: 'The best is greatest, not the greatest best.'¹ Ma'mūn ordered that a robe of gold cloth be wrapped over him, and this was done; but one of Ma'mūn's servants took the ring from his hand and hid it. Ma'mūn found out and put the servant to death; and he replaced the stolen ring on Anūshīrvān's finger, saying: 'This servant would have disgraced us (for ever). Till the Resurrection day people would have gone on saying that Ma'mūn opened Anūshīrvān's (tomb to rob his ring.'

Anecdote

Alexander asked some of his sages, at a time when he was about to start on a journey, 'Show us a way whereby we may impart stability to our affairs.' The chief of the sages answered: 'O king, let not your heart be overcome by love for anything, nor by enmity for anything; for the heart is like its name. In Arabic they call it '*qalb*', and its characteristic is to beat;² and the heart-beat is produced by contraction which is soon followed by expansion. Have recourse, therefore, to thought! Make thought your *wazīr* and intelligence your companion! Try hard to keep awake at night, and undertake nothing without seeking counsel! When granting redress and (awarding) justice, avoid bias! If you act thus, all your enterprises will turn out as you desire.'

The king must be wise and unruffled.³ Sages have said that three

story is told in the *Qābūs-nāmah*, as follows (tr. R. Levy, pp. 44-45): I have read in the annals of bygone Caliphs that the Caliph Ma'mūn once visited the tomb of Nūshīrvān the Just and found his body reposing on a throne which had crumbled to dust. Round the wall of the building there was an inscription in gold ink written in the Pehlevi character. Ma'mūn gave orders that scribes with a knowledge of Pehlevi should be summoned to translate the inscription into Arabic, which in its turn was made comprehensible in Persian. It began as follows: 'Throughout my lifetime all God's creatures enjoyed my justice, and no one came into my presence but received mercy from me. When the time came for me to be reduced to helplessness, I saw that the only charity I could bestow was to have these sentiments inscribed on these walls. Then, if anyone should visit me, he could read the words, understand, remember and apply them, and so not depart from me empty-handed.'

¹ *Bih mih nah mih bih*. Ar. (I), *al-ajwadu akbaru laysa l-akbaru ajwada*.

² *Qalb*. The attribution of this Arabic pun to Alexander's sages is curious. Cf. p. 63, note 1.

³ *Ḥakīm buvad va shitāb-zadah na-buvad*. Ar. (I), *waqūran wa ḥalīmān*, 'dignified and unruffled'. *Ḥilm*, 'unruffledness', was the much-prized characteristic of

categories of conduct are vile: hot temper in kings, cupidity in officials, and parsimony in rich men.

Anecdote

Yūnān the Dastūr¹ wrote a letter to Anūshīrvān giving him some advice. 'O King of the World,' he said, 'four things must you always keep with you: (i) justice; (ii) intelligence; (iii) patience; and (iv) modesty. Four things must you never have with you: (i) envy; (ii) arrogance; (iii) narrow-mindedness; and (iv) malice.' He also said: 'O King of the World, the (kings) who preceded you have all passed away, and the coming of others is arranged. Until they come, try hard to make all the kings and the subjects feel that they would miss you.'

Anecdote

One day in spring Anūshīrvān is reported to have ridden out to enjoy the fresh air. He was proceeding through some green meadows, and he saw fruit-laden trees and well-watered, flourishing gardens. Having viewed them, he dismounted and made a prostration in gratitude to God on High. He kept his face on the ground a fairly long time. When he raised his head from the dust, he said to his companions: 'Each year's abundance depends on the justice, equity, kindness and beneficence of the Sulṭān to his subjects. Thanks be to God who has made our kindness to the subjects plain to see.' He spoke thus because he had once been put to the test, as the following story shows.

Anecdote²

They say that one day when Anūshīrvān had gone out hunting, he became separated from his attendants. He came to the top of a hill and saw a village. Being thirsty, he made his way to it and went to the door of a house to ask for water. A young girl came out of the house. When she saw him, she went back into the house and began pounding sugar-cane; then she took the juice and filled a

the Quraysh aristocracy. It was considered to be the contrary of *jahl*, 'foolishness' (or 'ignorance'); cf. p. 31, note 2.

¹ Ar. (I): 'Yūnān the *wazīr*'. See Introduction, p. lxiv and pp. lxvi ff.

² According to Prof. Humā'i, this anecdote also appears in the *Khuld-i Barīn* (a universal history written for Shāh Sulaymān Ṣafavī in 1087/1677-8 by Muḥammad Yūsuf Walih), with almost identical wording except 'pomegranate' for 'sugar-cane'.

cup which she brought and gave to Anūshīrvān. He looked and saw in the cup some specks of dust; but he began to sip the juice slowly, and went on drinking (till he finished it). ('Good luck to you!' he said; 'how nice the juice would have been but for the dust which dirtied it!') The girl replied, 'I put that dust in the juice on purpose, Sir.'¹ Anūshīrvān asked, 'Why?' She replied, 'Because I saw that you were thirsty and hot-livered. If the dust had not been there, you would not have drunk the juice slowly, and then you would have done yourself harm.' Anūshīrvān was delighted at the young girl's cleverness. Presently he asked, 'How many canes did you (crush) to get all that juice?' 'One,' she said. Anūshīrvān left the place, filled with amazement, and on his return asked for the tax-roll of the village.² It was very low. He reflected and said, 'Does a village where all that juice comes from one sugar-cane have an income of (only) this amount and a tax-assessment as low as this?' He began thinking that he might increase the tax-assessment of the village. After a while, he again passed through that village and asked for water. The same girl came out, and again went back into the house to extract juice. She took a very long time. Anūshīrvān grew impatient and said, 'Why are you so slow?' The girl replied, 'Because one cane would not give enough juice to quench your thirst. I have had to take three canes today to get as much juice as formerly came from one.' 'What might be the reason for this misfortune?', Anūshīrvān asked. 'I do not know,' said the girl; 'but the king's intention³ towards us has changed for the worse, and I have heard that when the king has an ill intention towards the subjects, the blessing⁴ goes out of all things.' Anūshīrvān was filled with amazement; he again formed a good intention, and he asked for that girl's (hand in marriage) because of her cleverness.

(Aphorism)

Three categories of men are truthful: (i) prophets; (ii) kings; and (iii) madmen. They say that drunkenness is (a form of) madness; also that the madman fears the drunkard, because the frenzy of the madman is (from) inside the body, whereas the frenzy of

¹ Ar. (I), 'Yā sarhang'. *Sarhang*, in modern Persian 'colonel', probably then also signified some high military rank. Not in P. (H).

² *Jaridah-yi kharāj*; likewise in Ar. (I).

³ *Niyat*. Cf. p. 4, note 6.

⁴ *Barakat*: 'a beneficent force, of divine origin'. *E.I.* (2), art. *Baraka*.

wine is from outside. Woe to him who persists in making himself drunk with wine.¹

Verses²

A man who imprudently drinks too much wine
will not be disgraced when he's sober again.
A king who conducts state affairs when he's drunk
will find when he's sober his kingdom is gone.

Happy and radiant-faced³ is the king who is vigilant against royal drunkenness; whose officials⁴ are honest; and whose close companion⁵ is a good counsellor. The symptom of (frenzy in) a king is his appointing an impecunious man to be his minister and keeping him until he becomes affluent, then dismissing him from his post and appointing another. Such conduct is like that of a man who finds a small child and nourishes the child as long as he remains small, but as soon as he grows up and becomes competent kills him. It is said that four duties are incumbent on kings: (i) to purge the realm of ignoble men⁶; (ii) to keep the realm prosperous through close (co-operation) with wise men; (iii) to respect (the opinions of) pious men and pay heed to experienced persons and elders; (iv) to increase (the prestige of) the realm by decreasing the number of bad men.

It is reported that when 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz succeeded to the Caliphate, he wrote a letter to Ḥaṣan al-Baṣrī saying (in Arabic): 'Help me by (sending one of) your companions.' He replied: 'Either he will be a seeker of this world, in which case there will be no good in him; or he will be a seeker of the next world, in which case he will be no good to you. Turn rather to the noble-born,⁷ for although they are not pious, they are generous.' (In Persian): He requested Ḥaṣan to send one of his companions to help him in his task, and Ḥaṣan replied, saying, 'Whoever I send to you must be in one of two categories: he will seek either this world or the next. The

¹ Ar. (I), 'Woe to him who persists in the intoxication of heedlessness.' 'Heedlessness' (*ghaflat*) is generally used with reference to religion. Cf. Q. xxiv. 37.

² Prof. Humā'i quotes some Arabic verses with much the same meaning from the Cairo edition of 1317/1900.

³ *Farrukh*, 'radiant-faced': an epithet of kings, cf. *farr-i izādī*; see p. 45 and pp. 73-74 above and notes. ⁴ *Kārdāran*; Ar. (I), *al-muqaddam 'alā aḥwālīhi*.

⁵ *Hamnīshīn*; Ar. (I), *jalīs*.

⁶ *Bī-aṣlān*, i.e. of low birth; Ar. (I), *al-adniyā*. Cf. below, p. 86, note 1.

⁷ *Dhawī'l-ansāb*. Cf. below, p. 86, note 1.

seeker of this world will not give you good advice, and the seeker of the next world will not give you (good) companionship.¹ Prefer rather the noble-born² who, although they do not practise piety, nevertheless show affection for the people. Pure origin never does any harm.'

The king should accordingly never entrust his business to unworthy persons, but (should entrust it) to men of noble origin.³ If he puts it into the hands of unworthy persons, he will cast his kingship to the winds, and his realm will be ruined and fall victim to many disorders, from every direction and of every kind. As the poet says,

When once a house gets rotten down below,
the walls fall bit by bit from off their base.
Unless you want your dynasty to fall,
do not entrust unworthy men with power.

Any person who enters the service of kings must have three qualities, if he is to be worthy of serving kings.

Verses (in Arabic)

If the service of kings you enter, put
very strong garments of discretion on!
When you go into (royal courts), go blind!
When you come out, if come you do, come dumb!

(In Persian)

If the service of kings you enter, put
very strong garments of discretion on!
When you go in, keep both your eyes well closed!
When you come out, keep both your lips tight shut!

Any man who acts indiscreetly in the service of kings does himself an injustice. Even if he be a king's son, indiscretion in their service is quite (inadmissible), as the poet has said:⁴

Although you're the son of the king, even so
Be chary of him if you value your head!

¹ Ar. (I) does not quote Ḥasan al-Basrī's reply (in Arabic) as it appears in P. (H), but translates back into Arabic from the less epigrammatical Persian rendering. The sentences about the 'noble-born' and 'pure origin' are omitted from Ar. (I) perhaps because the concept is not strictly Islāmic; cf. Q. xlix. 13, 'The noblest of you in God's sight are the most pious.' Cf. p. 119 below. See Introduction, p. xlv and p. xlvii.

² Missing in Ar. (I), which eliminates all reference to the 'noble-born'.

³ Similar Arabic verses in Ar. (H) and Ar. (I).

A person who acts indiscreetly with the king is like a snake-charmer who keeps snakes with him and sleeps and rises with them; or like someone who has for his neighbour a lion; or like someone who is in the sea amid man-eating sharks. Such persons brave danger (at the risk of) their own lives.

Aphorism

'Woe to him', says the sage, 'who is condemned to serve the Sulṭān; for he will possess no friends, no kinsmen, no sons, no respect and no sympathy. None will show sympathy and affection towards him except those who want to profit from his learning or courage; and when they have taken their profit, they will no longer show friendship, loyalty or (even) shame, their attitude having mostly been hypocrisy. They will make light of their own offences, but make much indeed of the least offence committed by another against their wishes.'

Sufyān al-Thawrī has said: 'Do not keep company with the Sulṭān! If you are obedient, he will overburden you; and if you are disobedient, he will kill you.'

Unless permission is (given), kings ought not to be approached, as the following story shows.

Anecdote¹

(Bahrām Gūr) once went to his father at a time when no person might have audience (with the king). The king said to Bahrām: 'Go away, and give so-and-so the chamberlain thirty strokes with the rod; then banish him from the court and appoint such and such a nobleman² in his place.' (Bahrām³) was then thirteen years

¹ This story appears in the *Kitāb al-Tāj* of pseudo-Jāḥiẓ, ed. Aḥmad Zakī Pāshā, Cairo, 1914, p. 126, tr. Ch. Pellat, Paris, 1954, p. 146, where the king is Yazdgard (I) and his son is Bahrām (Gūr). Both P. (H) and Ar. (I) commence: 'Yazdgard ibn Shahryār went to his father.' Ar. (I) begins the next sentence: 'Shahryār said to Bahrām.' P. (H) has: 'The king said to Bahrām.' The name Shahryār has clearly been interpolated by ignorant scribes.

In the Arabic text of the *Kitāb al-Tāj*, Āzādmard appears as the name of the chamberlain who gave Bahrām a beating, and Pellat has translated accordingly; likewise in Christensen, op. cit., pp. 405-6. But see following note.

Bahrām Gūr spent his youth at the court of Mundhir, King of Hīrah, but according to Ṭabarī (tr. Nöldeke, pp. 90-91) returned for a while to his father's court.

² *Fulān āzādmard*; Ar. (I), *fulānan al-ḥurra*. See preceding note. The *āzādān* ('free men') were the nobles of the Sāsānid empire, coming after the *grandees* of the seven great families and the top-ranking officials. Christensen, op. cit., pp. 111-13.

³ P. (H) and Ar. (I) have 'Yazdgard' here and below.

old. The nobleman found out why the (former) chamberlain had been banished from the court; and one day when (Bahrām) came and requested to go in (to his father's presence), he laid his hand on (Bahrām's) chest and turned him back, saying: 'If I again see you here at such a time, even though you are the king's son I shall give you sixty strokes with the rod—thirty strokes for the chamberlain who was banished, and thirty to stop you from being insolent and bringing the pain of a beating and humiliation upon me.'

It is best for the king not to make war in person.¹ His prestige² will benefit (if he does not), because many lives depend on his life and the welfare of the subjects lies in his survival. He must likewise avoid doing injustice to himself, just as [he must avoid tolerating injustice to the people. He must not make his tasks too difficult for himself] and he must not take them too easily. Every night he must cause (other) men to sleep in the room where he (is supposed to) sleep and himself go to some undisclosed place.³ Thus, if an enemy should come with designs on the king's life, he would find another instead and would not touch the king, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

It is related that Khusraw Parvīz fled from Bahrām Chūbīn and said: 'Disgraceful though it is to flee, I shall save the lives of many thousands of human beings from destruction; for if I am destroyed, all these thousands of human beings will be destroyed because of me.'

The reason why we are saying so much on this subject is that our present age is an exceedingly wicked one.⁴ The people are wicked, and the Sultāns are preoccupied with this lower world. With wicked people, things cannot be put right through tolerance and indulgence; as the Arab saying goes, 'The slave is beaten with the rod, while for the free man⁵ censure is sufficient.' Meaning (in Persian): 'Until the slave is beaten on the head with the rod, he will not wake from the sleep of heedlessness; but for the free man⁶

¹ Command of armies was entrusted in Sāsānian times to *sipahbuds* (Christensen, op. cit., pp. 130 and 370-1) and under the Caliphate to *amīrs*; but in fact energetic monarchs often led campaigns in person.

² *Kār*; Ar. (I), *nāmūs*.

³ This practice of the Sāsānid kings is mentioned by pseudo-Jāḥīz, *Kitāb al-Tāj*, p. 124, tr. Ch. Pellat, pp. 144-5.

⁴ Ar. (I), 'inauspicious'. See Introduction, p. xliii.

⁵ *Al-hurr*.

⁶ *Āzādmard*; or 'nobleman'. Cf. p. 87, note 2.

censure is sufficient.' This proverb has been coined about men of noble and ignoble origin.¹

There have been times when one man kept the whole universe secure with one whip, as did the Prince of the Believers 'Umar (ibn al-Khaṭṭāb), God be pleased with him. Today, however, if the subjects were treated thus, no benefit would result and mischief would arise. Power to inspire awe and maintain discipline are essential (in the present-day Sultān), if the individual is to be able to go about his business and if the people are to have security from one another. In this connexion we shall now quote (a Tradition²) which will be of interest to the reader.

(Tradition)

The Prince of the Believers 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, God bless his face, was asked why he did not give salutary advice to the people. He replied, 'It is a well-known fact that God's Apostle at the hour of his death drew up his will and then made a gesture with three fingers and said with the tip of his tongue: "Do not ask me questions (about them)."'³ Afterwards people said that his gesture meant three months, or three years, or thirty years; the doctors of the religion have fixed it at three hundred years. (The words) mean: "Since three hundred years will elapse after me, do not ask me about (those persons)."⁴ What use, then, will advice be to the people at the present time?'

Anecdote

Another question was put (to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib) on this subject. He said: 'At the beginning of the period, the people were asleep and the doctors of the religion were awake. Now the doctors of the religion are asleep and the people are dead. What use are a sleeper's words to a dead man?'

This present age is one in which the people's outlook⁵ has been corrupted, and in which they have all grown wicked in both deed and intention. As long as they are not intimidated and disciplined by the Sultān, they do not obey God and do not practise virtue.

¹ *Mardum-i bā aṣl u bī aṣl*; Ar. (I), *fī man lahu aṣlun wa fī man lā aṣla lahu*.

² Ar. (I), *khabar*; see Introduction, p. lvii. P. (H), *chīz-i*, 'something'.

³ Ar. (I); '*an ūlā ika*, 'about those (persons)'. P. (H), *ānjā*, 'there'.

⁴ Ar. (I), 'those persons'; P. (H), 'that person'. The Saljūq period was more than four centuries after Muḥammad.

⁵ *Ra'y*, 'opinion(s)'. See Introduction, p. xliii.

Tradition

The Prophet, God bless him, is reported to have said: 'Justice is the strength of the religion and power of the Sultān; in it lies the welfare of the upper classes and of the masses.'¹ (In Persian): He said, 'Justice is the strength of the religion and power of the Sultān; it is salutary for the subjects, and wholesome for kinsmen. It is living in security and abiding in good health.'

All (deeds) are weighed in the balance of justice, as God on High has said (Q. lv. 6): 'And the sky, He raised it up, and He set the balance.' In another place, He said (Q. xlii. 16): 'God is He who sent down the Book with the truth and the balance.'

The most suitable person to hold rank and kingship is he whose heart is an abode of justice, whose house is a resting-place for men of religion and intelligence, whose mind is a storehouse for the learned, and whose conversation is with men of intelligence and discretion, as the poet says:²

His hand a storehouse of kindness, his mind a storehouse of sense;
the gate of his house is adorned for all those who knowledge seek.

It is reported that Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, God have mercy on him, declared: 'If a king holds religion in high esteem, he will be highly esteemed (by the subjects); and if he comes to know God, all mankind will seek to know him.' As the poet says:³

If a man has been able to know God,
everybody will seek to know that man.
Happy is he who in this lower world
from the very beginning has known God.

Aphorism

[Buzurgmihr has said:] 'The care which the king takes to maintain his kingdom must be even greater than that which the gardener takes to maintain his garden by not letting weeds fill the place of the sweet basil.'⁴

¹ *Al-khāṣṣah wa'l-'āmmah*.

² Similar verses in Ar. (I) and Ar. (H).

³ Ar. (I): 'He who has known God on High, his name is favoured among men for his spiritual knowledge (*irfān*); happiness belongs to him who at the beginning attains to knowledge of God, be He praised.'

⁴ *Ispargham*; Ar. (I), *rayḥān*, 'myrtle'.

Aphorism

Plato has said: 'If a king is going to be victorious, he will (carry) certain marks of victory: he will be strong of body, silent of tongue, and discerning and prudent of mind, as well as possessing intelligence. He will be honoured in his kingship, dear to the hearts of the people (and clement in his actions). He will have learnt from the experience of past ages. In the eyes of his enemies he will be accomplished and without fault. When he perceives that might and strength come from God on High, not from men, the victory will ultimately be his even though his enemies be strong.'¹

(Aphorism)

Socrates is reported to have said: 'If a king's reign is going to last long, he will (carry) certain marks of kingship. Religion and justice will be dear to his heart, with the result that he will be dear to the hearts of his subjects; intelligence will be his close (companion), with the result that the intelligent will draw close to him; and knowledge will be the object of his quest, with the result that the scholars will acquire knowledge. He will esteem the arts,² with the result that those who practise them will be esteemed, and will patronize the men of letters, with the result that literature³ will branch forth. He will eliminate the pursuers of vice, with the result that vice will be eliminated (from his kingdom)'. No king will derive happiness from his kingship unless he possesses these qualities. His kinsmen and companions, even though they possess them, will all be destroyed by his hand if he does not, because destruction springs from ignorance, and vices all arise from lack of intelligence; (as the poet says):

Verses

How sound the advice: no important man's son
should walk like a lion in a field full of hens.
Be careful to keep eyes and body intact;
for some pairs of eyes can give umbrage to kings!⁴

¹ Ar. (I) here quotes Q. ii. 250: 'How often has a little company prevailed over a numerous company by God's leave! And God is with the patient.'

² *Hunar-hā*; Ar. (I), 'his merit (*ḡaḍluhu*) will be glorious and his house great'.

³ *Adab*.

⁴ From Sāsānian through 'Abbāsīd to Ottoman and Ṣafavīd times it was customary to disqualify actual or potential rivals to the throne among the royal family by blinding them with the hot iron. See Introduction, p. liv and note 1.

When in the king's presence, don't act like a king!
 Keep out of his presence when he's in a rage!
 Perhaps when he's calm he won't hold you to blame;
 but if you speak rashly, you'll die by his hand.
 I've heard that the wine of annoyance soon brings
 the intoxication of anger to kings.

Aphorism

Mu'awiyah asked Aḥnaf ibn Qays, 'O Abū Yaḥyā, what is the quality of this epoch?' He replied, '[The epoch] is you. If you practise virtue, the epoch will be virtuous, and if you practise vice, the epoch will be vicious.' In Persian: 'If you are virtuous, it will be virtuous, and if you are vicious, it will be vicious.'

Aḥnaf ibn Qays has also said: 'Just as the world is made prosperous¹ through justice, so is it made desolate through injustice. This is because justice radiates light up to one thousand *farsakhs*² from its seat, while injustice sheds darkness up to one thousand *farsakhs* from its seat.'

Fuḍayl ibn 'Iyād has said:³ 'If my prayers (to God) were answered, I would pray for nothing except (that we might have) a just Sulṭān; for in the well-doing of such a ruler lies the well-being of the world and the good ordering of God's slaves.'

It is reported in the Traditions⁴ that those who give just measure in this world for the sake of God the Strong and Glorious will stand on pulpits of pearl at the Resurrection day.

Anecdote

One day when Alexander was seated on the throne and holding audience, they brought before him a thief, whom he sentenced to be hanged.⁵ 'O king,' said the thief, 'I did steal, but such was not my desire; I did not wish it.' Alexander answered him: 'Thus also shall you be hanged. Such is not your desire, and your heart does not wish it.'

It is incumbent on the king to administer justice (personally) and to supervise its administration (by others). He must consider cases with great care and make sure that his decisions concerning

¹ *Ābādān*; cf. p. 37, note 3, and p. 55, note 1.

² *Farsakh*; see p. 32, note 2. Cf. the 'divine effulgence' (*farr-i izzādī*), p. 45 and pp. 73-74 above.

³ Quoted also in the *Siyāsatnāmah*, chap. vii.

⁴ *Khabar*; see Introduction, p. lvii. In Arabic.

⁵ Ar. (I), 'crucified'.

punishments¹ are carried out in full by his agents, such as the *wazīr*, the viceroy² and others; for the Sulṭān's (prerogatives of) administering justice, supervising (the judicial administration) and (deciding) punishments are still in large measure the object of bribery.³ This is the result of slackness and negligence on the part of the Sulṭān, who ought to do his utmost to ensure that such things are found out, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

King Gushtāsb⁴ had a *wazīr* named Rāst-ravishn.⁵ Because of his name, the king reckoned him to be one of the righteous men; and being unaware of his activities, he would not listen to anybody who spoke ill of him. This Rāst-ravishn had said to the (king's) deputy:⁶ 'The subjects have become insolent in consequence of our excessive justice. Their insubordination, as I see it, forebodes disaster; so let us chasten them before disaster occurs. Now the chastening should take two forms: eliminate bad men; do not eliminate good men, but take their wealth!' From then on Rāst-ravishn would take a bribe from every person whom the deputy arrested and then order his release. This continued until all the subjects became beggars and nothing remained in the treasury. After things had been in this pass for some time, an enemy rose up against King Gushtāsb, who now observed that there were no (funds) in his treasury wherewith to equip the army. In his anxiety, he rode out alone one day and headed for the desert, thinking hard. Suddenly he saw a flock of sheep in the distance. He made for the place, and saw a tent pitched and the sheep sleeping. Then he noticed a dog hanged on a gibbet. When he reached the tent, a man came out and greeted him, helped him down, and brought what food there was. 'Before I eat this bread,' said Gushtāsb, 'explain to me about that dog.' The young man replied: 'I

¹ *Siyāsat*. Cf. p. 45, note 1.

² *Wazīr u nā'ib* . . . ; Ar. (I), *wazīruhu wa ḥājibuh wa 'āmiluhu wa nā'ibuhu*, 'his minister, chamberlain, revenue officer, viceroy . . . '.

³ *Zir-i rushwat*; Ar. (I), 'are concealed from him through bribery' (*bi'l-barā'īl*).

⁴ Thus in P. (H) and Ar. (I). This story, at greater length but with some sentences identical, appears also in the *Siyāsatnāmah* of Niẓām ul-Mulk, chap. iv; but there the king is Bahrām Gūr.

⁵ Thus in P. (H) and Ar. (I), and also in Darke's tr. of the *Siyāsatnāmah*. The name means 'honest in conduct', *ravishn* being an old form of verbal noun for *ravish*. Schefer, text and tr., has *Rāst-ravish*.

⁶ *Khalīfah*.

kept the dog to guard the flock, but he grew fond of a she-wolf. When the dog slept, the she-wolf would come and carry off one sheep at a time and eat it. After this had been going on some time, the governor of the district came and demanded that I pay the pasture-tax.¹ (I counted the flock, and it was below strength.) One day I sat down and began thinking. I watched the flock and saw the she-wolf come and do as I have described, while the dog stayed still. Then I knew that the damage to my flock had been caused by that dog, and I hanged the dog on the gibbet.' Gushtāsb left the place and began thinking to himself: 'Our subjects are our flock. The same thing might also happen to us.' On his return home he asked for the agenda of the public business.² From one end of the agenda to the other he saw (evidence of) Rāst-ravishn's meddling. He coined a proverb, 'If ever a man lets himself be deceived by a high-sounding name,³ he'll end by finding himself left without any daily bread'; and then he ordered that Rāst-ravishn be hanged on a gibbet, which they did. This story comes in the Collections of Tales,⁴ and the poet has said:

Verses

I'm not deceived by your high-sounding name, O gentle Sir!
Your name is a trap for winning your bread and your sustenance!
If somebody uses a good name as a trap for procuring bread,
of this you may be quite certain, his bread is a trap for your life.

Anecdote

It is said that 'Amr (ibn) Layth had a near relative who was also counted among his closest friends, by name Abū Ja'far Zaydūyah.⁵ Thanks to the friendship which 'Amr (ibn) Layth felt towards him, his affairs prospered so much that one day a hundred red-haired camels were dispatched (to him)⁶ from Harāt, each carrying

¹ *Marā'ī*; Ar. (I), *ḥaqq al-marā'ī*.

² *Rūznāmāh*; Ar. (I), *al-rūznāmājāt*; Cf. p. 68, note 3.

³ Such names were common in Sāsānid times and are in use today (e.g. *Rāstkhār*, 'right-doer'; *Mihan-parast*, 'fatherland-worshipper'; *Rawshan-dāmīr*, 'clear-conscienced').

⁴ *Yādgārnāmāh-hā*; Ar. (I), *Kitāb Yādgārnāmāh*. Possibly a translation of anecdotes from the Pahlavi. See Introduction, p. lxxv.

⁵ Or Zaydawayh. This story also appears in the *Siyāsatnāmāh*, chap. xi, but with Parvīz for 'Amr ibn Layth and Bahrām Chūbin for Abū Ja'far Zaydūyah.

⁶ According to the *Siyāsatnāmāh*, chap. iii, 'the chivalry and magnanimity of

an ass-load¹ of provisions; of such magnitude was the consignment sent to him by 'Amr, who said: 'They have taken it to him so that his kitchen may be amply supplied.' Later, news reached 'Amr one day that Abū Ja'far had knocked down a page-boy and given him twenty strokes with the rod. 'Amr ordered that Abū Ja'far be brought to the court. When he appeared, 'Amr ordered that all the swords in the armoury be produced and laid before Abū Ja'far; and when this had been done, he said: 'O Abū Ja'far, pick the best of these swords.' Abū Ja'far began selecting them and had picked a hundred swords, when 'Amr said: 'Out of these hundred swords, choose two!' He did. Then 'Amr (ibn) Layth said: 'Now tell your men to put these two swords into one scabbard!' 'O Prince,' said Abū Ja'far, 'two swords will not fit into one scabbard.' 'Amr (ibn) Layth replied: 'Then two princes will not fit into one kingdom.' Abū Ja'far perceived his error. He forthwith kissed the ground, saying 'I have erred'; and 'Amr (ibn) Layth replied: 'Were it not that you have the claim of kinship on me, I should not absolve you from this error. Such matters are for me; leave them in my hands! This once, however, I have forgiven you.'

Admonition²

Ardashīr has said: 'The Sultān who lacks the capability to reform his aristocracy³ should know that he will be incapable of reforming the mass of his subjects.'⁴

Similarly, God on High has stated (Q. xxvi. 214): 'And warn your clan, your nearest kin.'

The Arabs (have a saying) that nothing is more damaging to the subjects and more prejudicial and sinister for the king than royal inaccessibility and seclusion; and that nothing impresses the hearts of the subjects and officials⁵ more than ease of access to the king. For when the subjects know that the king is easily approachable, it will be impossible for the officials to oppress the subjects and

'Amr ibn Layth were such that four hundred camels were required to transport his kitchen'.

¹ *Kharvār*; estimated at 666 lb.

² *Al-maw'izah*. Quoted also in the *Siyāsatnāmāh*, chap. viii. In the 'Ahd ('Covenant') of Ardashīr (selections in M. Kurd 'Alī, ed. *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*, p. 383): 'The king will never be able to put right the masses (*yugawwima'l-'ām-mah*) until he puts right the aristocracy (*al-khāṣṣah*).'

³ *Khāṣṣ-i khvīsh*; Ar. (I), *khawāṣṣi*.

⁴ *'Amm-i khvīsh*; Ar. (I), *Al-'awāmm*.

⁵ *'Ummāl*, sing. *'āmil*. See p. 15, note 4. The *Siyāsatnāmāh*, chap. viii, attributes this saying to 'Umar.

for the subjects to oppress one another. Through making himself readily accessible, the king will acquire information about all the affairs (of the realm), of which he must never be heedless if the prestige of the monarchy¹ is to be maintained and if he himself is to reign undisturbed, as the following story shows:

Anecdote

They say that Ardashīr was so keenly observant of what went on that when his boon-companions² came to him in the morning he would say to each: 'Last night you ate this or that, and you were with your wife so-and-so or with such-and-such a slave girl.' So accurately would he describe what each had done that people began saying that an angel used to come down from heaven and inform him; but it was only due to his keen observation and interest in the affairs of the subjects. The late Sulṭān Maḥmūd (ibn Subuk-tigīn) was also like this.

Aphorism

Aristotle has said that the best ruler is he who, like a vulture, has carrion round about him; not he who, like carrion, has vultures round about him.³

Anecdote

King Alexander said that the best king is he who turns the bad customs in his kingdom into good ones, and that the worst king is he who turns the good customs in his kingdom into bad ones.

Anecdote

(Parvīz)⁴ has said that there are three sorts of men whose offences no king should overlook: (i) those who have designs on his realm;

¹ *Shikūh-i mulk*; Ar. (I), *nāmūs al-mamlakah* (or 'law'; Greek *nomos*).

² *Nadīmān*; Ar. (I), *nudamā*. This anecdote appears in the *Kitāb al-Tāj* of pseudo-Jāhīz, text pp. 167-8, tr. Pellat, p. 185.

³ Ar. (H) and (I): 'the best king is one who is as sharp-eyed as an eagle and whose companions are like eagles, not like carrion.' Ar. (I) adds: 'i.e., if the Sulṭān is far-sighted, alert and thoughtful about the after-life, and if his intimates and the aristocracy of his empire have these qualities, the affairs of the kingdom will be well-ordered and the business of the subjects will proceed along the straight (path)'.

⁴ Thus in Ar. (I) and Ar. (H); also in the *Siyāsatnāmāh*, chap. iv, and in the *Kitāb al-Tāj*, p. 94, tr. Pellat, p. 119. P. (H): 'Anūshīrvān', which must be a copyist's error.

(ii) those who have designs on his *harem*; and (iii) those who do not keep his secrets.

Anecdote

Sufyān (al-) Thawrī, God have mercy on him, has said that the best of Sulṭāns is he who chooses for company the doctors (of religion), knowers (of God) and doers of good.¹ They say² likewise that it is through man that all things acquire value, but that knowledge, intelligence and talent [cannot make] man better than knowledge (itself) and intelligence (itself).³ [When glory and happiness] come to the king by means of knowledge and intelligence, the glory will have permanence and the happiness will have a firm foundation. Wherever intelligence and knowledge are present, in that (man) are assembled twelve qualities: chastity, courtesy, abstemiousness, honesty, truthfulness, modesty, compassion, kind-heartedness, fidelity, patience, tact and equanimity.⁴ All these are qualities of kings.

It must be realized⁵ that qualities have to be linked in pairs if they are to be rightly used: intelligence must be coupled with knowledge, [wealth with gratitude], charity with kindness, effort with good fortune;⁶ and when good fortune comes, all the qualities must go with it, (as) the following story shows.

Anecdote

They say that in the days when Ya'qūb (ibn) Layth grew mighty and won fame and renown, having conquered Kirmān, Sistān, Fārs and Khurāsān,⁷ he formed designs on 'Irāq. Mu'tamid, who was then Caliph at Baghdād, wrote a letter to Ya'qūb saying: 'You are a man who started life as a coppersmith. Where did you pick

¹ *Ahl-i 'ilm wa ma'rīfat wa ṣalāh*, i.e. 'ulamā', ṣūfīs, and pious men. Ar. (I) has only *Ahl al-'ilm*. The *Siyāsatnāmāh*, chap. viii, also quotes this saying.

² Ar. (I), *Yuqālu*, 'it is said'. P. (H), *gūyad*, 'he (Sufyān) has said'.

³ Ar. (I): 'All things acquire their beauty through human beings, and human beings acquire beauty through knowledge and are raised in value through intelligence.'

⁴ Ar. (I): 'discernment, courtesy, piety, honesty, correctness (or health), modesty, compassion, kind-heartedness, fidelity, patience, equanimity and tact.'

⁵ Ar. (I): 'You must realize.'
⁶ *Dawlat*; the good fortune which brings royal power, or any sort of wealth, to individuals and families.

⁷ Ar. (I): Kirmān, Sistān, Fārs and Khūzistān. The *Siyāsatnāmāh*, chap. iii, has a long and dramatic account of Ya'qūb ibn Layth's rebellion against Mu'tamid.

up the art of kingship?'¹ Ya'qūb wrote in reply: 'The same Lord who gave me good fortune gave me the art of kingship.'

In the Covenant of Ardashīr² there is (a passage) like this: 'All glory which is not laid on the carpet of knowledge will be turned into humiliation; and all justice which is (awarded) without fear of God will be turned into sorrow.'³

Anecdote

One day Ma'mūn was seated (on the throne, trying cases and pronouncing sentences).⁴ A certain case was brought before him and he referred it to Faḍl ibn Sahl, who was his *wazīr*, saying: 'Settle this man's claim right now. So swift is the rotation of fate's wheel that (fortune) never stays as it is and never fulfils the hopes of its lovers.'

The author of this book declares that it is the duty of intelligent and noble kings to pay constant attention to these reports,⁵ so that they may make good use of their reigns by awarding redress to the victims of injustice and by satisfying the wants of the needy. They must, however, understand fully that the wheel does not pause at any point in its rotation, that good fortune⁶ cannot be relied on, and that the affairs (of kings) do not⁷ depend on armies and abundant treasuries, but that when fortune's rope swings back, all these things lose significance, and remorse then becomes useless—as the following story shows.

Anecdote

They say that when Marwān (the last of the Umayyads) reviewed his army, which numbered three hundred thousand men, all equipped and armed, his *wazīr* told him, 'It is a [mighty] army.' 'Hush!' replied Marwān; 'when the time is up, this equipment

¹ *Tadbīr ul-mulk*. The term was also used to mean 'politics and economics'.

² See Introduction, pp. lxii and lxiv.

³ Ar. (H) and Ar. (I) here have another story: "Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir asked his father, 'How long will this good fortune stay with us and this wealth and dominion endure in our house?'" He replied, "As long as the carpet of justice and equity is spread in this hall."

⁴ Thus in Ar. (I). The story also comes in the *Siyāsatnāmah*, chap. xxxvi, with Faḍl ibn Sahl as the *wazīr* (likewise in Ar. (I)). P. (H): Sahl ibn Faḍl.

⁵ *Akhbār*; see Introduction, p. lvii.

⁶ *Dawlat*; cf. p. 97, note 6.

⁷ P. (H) has *ast*, i.e. 'do depend', but Prof. Humā'i conjectures *nīst*. Ar. (I), 'that the heavenly predestination cannot be held back by soldiers, abundant finances and munitions'.

will be useless, and when the doom comes, this army, huge though it is, will look small. Even if we take possession of the whole world, it will be taken from us in the end. For whom has this world fulfilled its promises that it should fulfil them for us?'

Anecdote

Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Ahwāzī in his Book of Gems and Necklaces¹ has said: 'This world does not cheer a drinker, nor does it remain long in the possession of an owner. [So take supplies² for your tomorrow out of your today; for neither day nor morrow will last long.]' (In Persian:) 'This world satisfies no drinker and keeps its promise to no wooer. So take today a supply for tomorrow, before today and tomorrow cease to exist.'

It is said that these two verses are inscribed on the tomb of Ya'qūb (ibn) Layth:

(in Arabic)³

I owned Khurāsān and all parts of Fārs;
I never lost hope of ruling in 'Irāq.
Salute this world with its sweet breeze of spring,
as if Ya'qūb had never lodged in it!

(in Persian)

I conquered this Khurāsān; in Fārs, too, I was ruler.
The empire of 'Irāq was not safe against me either.
Salute the universe with its fragrant breeze of spring-time!
Ya'qūb-i Layth, you might think, had never sojourned in it!

Anecdote⁴

A king who had lost his kingdom was asked, 'What was it that caused fortune⁵ to turn (its face) away from you?' He replied: 'My

¹ *Kitāb al-Farā'id wa'l-Qalā'id*. See Introduction, p. lviii.

² *Zād*; cf. p. 10, note 6.

³ Ar. (I): 'You owned . . .', 'You never lost . . .'. Before these verses, Ar. (H) has four other distichs: 'Salute the tomb-dwellers who have passed away, as if they had never sat in the council-chamber,—had never drunk a draught of the cool water, had never eaten that which is half wet and half dry.—He (God) brought me (here) in dreaded death with a pang, and a thousand cavaliers no longer sang my praises.—O visitor to (this) tomb, take our advice and have regard for us, (who were) your patrons in this world. (Let this be) a present to mankind.'

⁴ Ar. (I): 'Question and answer.' Cf. *Qābūs-nāmah*, tr. R. Levy, p. 216 (explanation attributed to Buzurgmihr). In the *Siyāsatnāmah*, chap. xlii, Buzurgmihr says that the Sāsānids were defeated because they left affairs to women and boys.

⁵ *Dawlat*; cf. p. 97, note 6.

becoming too confident in my own fortune and strength, and too complacent about my own knowledge; my neglecting to seek advice, and my appointing inferior men to (superior) posts; my inability to devise stratagems on appropriate occasions and to deal with situations promptly; my slowness and hesitancy at times when haste was needed; and my failure to satisfy the wants of the people.' He was then asked: 'Who among the unworthy are the most harmful?' He replied: 'Ambassadors who betray their trust for the sake of personal ambition; they bring utter ruin to the kingdom.' As Ardashīr said,¹ 'How copious is the blood which (treacherous ambassadors) have shed! how numerous the armies which they have defeated! how many the harem-folk whose veils they have torn! how vast the riches which they have looted! how solemn the oaths which they have broken, through treason and unworthiness (on their missions)! The kings of the Persians paid great attention to this problem and (took care) never to send an (untried) man on a mission,² as the following story shows.

Anecdote

It is said that when the kings of the Persians sent an ambassador on a mission to another king, they used to send a spy to accompany him³ and report in writing all that the ambassador had said and heard. When the ambassador returned, they would compare (his statement) with the spy's written report; and if it proved truthful, they would know that he was a suitable man and would then send him on a mission to the enemy.

Anecdote⁴

They say that Alexander sent an ambassador to Dārā ibn Dārā and that when he brought back the latter's reply, Alexander felt doubtful about one word. 'I feel doubtful about this particular word', he told the ambassador; 'did you hear it correctly from

¹ Quoted also in pseudo-Jāhīz, *Kitāb al-Tāj*, p. 122; tr. Pellat, p. 142.

² On Sāsānid practices with ambassadors, see Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, pp. 414-15; on Muslim practices, *Siyāsatnāmah*, chap. xxi. For 'untried', P. (H) has 'impecunious'.

³ Cf. pseudo-Jāhīz, *Kitāb al-Tāj*, p. 122; tr. Pellat, pp. 142-3. The practice is recommended by Niẓām ul-Mulk, *Siyāsatnāmah*, chap. xxi. It is said to be still in use in Soviet and other communist embassies.

⁴ Pseudo-Jāhīz, *Kitāb al-Tāj*, pp. 122-3, and tr. Pellat, pp. 143-4, tells the same story but with quite different wording.

Dārā's lips?' 'With my own ears I heard him say this word', the ambassador answered. Alexander ordered that the (ambassador's) statement be written down and handed to another ambassador, who should convey it to Dārā ibn Dārā. The second ambassador arrived and laid before Dārā the statement which had been written down. When Dārā reached the word about which Alexander had felt doubtful, he called for a knife and cut out the word and sent it back to Alexander, together with a letter in which he wrote: 'The stability of the empire depends on the correct practice and sound character of the king, and the well-being of the king depends on the accuracy and truthfulness of ambassadors; because ambassadors take statements from the lips of kings, and bring back the reply of one king to another. I have therefore cut out this word, which was not my word; I was not able to cut out the tongue of your ambassador.' When the (second) ambassador returned, Alexander read the letter and summoned the (first) ambassador. 'Who influenced you', he asked, 'to seek to destroy an empire with one word?' The ambassador confessed, but said: '(Your Majesty) has misinterpreted my conduct. I have been accused unfairly.' 'Do you suppose', Alexander answered, 'that we sent you to work for your own interests, to injure ours and to scheme against the blood of the people?' Then he ordered that the man's tongue be pulled out of his neck, and this was done.

Admonition¹

When the Sulṭān's subjects fall into penury or suffer distress, it is his duty to come to their aid, especially in times of drought or when they are incapable of earning their livelihood (on account of high prices). The king must (then) provide them with food and grant them financial help from the treasury, and take good care to stop his officials² from oppressing the subjects; for in that case the people would become impoverished and quit the territory, the royal revenues would be shattered, profit would accrue to hoarders, and the Sulṭān would (earn) curses and a bad name. It was for this reason that the Sulṭāns of old practised the utmost frugality in such

¹ A more detailed account of Sāsānid royal practices in times of distress (especially invasion or rebellion) appears in pseudo-Jāhīz, *Kitāb al-Tāj*, pp. 173 f.; tr. Pellat, pp. 190-1.

² *Hashm*, 'the (royal) retinue'; Ar. (I), 'the (royal) retinue, servants and followers'.

situations, and were accordingly able to grant aid from their treasuries to the subjects.

Anecdote¹

They say that it was the custom of the kings of the Persians to hold audiences for the subjects on the days of Nawrūz and Mihragān. A few days before the date of Nawrūz, the king's herald would proclaim: 'Get ready for such-and-such a date. Let every man prepare his case, put his plea in writing, and assemble his evidence. Let him who has an adversary know that he may complain of him to the king, and that he should (accordingly) prepare his case.' This they would do, and when the day came, the king's herald would stand at the gate of the palace and proclaim: 'Should any man keep another away from this gate, the king will be innocent of his blood.' Then the people's pleas would be taken in and all laid before the king, for him to examine one by one. If there was any plea complaining of the king himself, he would cause the Chief *Mobed*,² which in their language meant the Chief Judge,³ to sit on his right hand, and then he would rise (from his throne) and kneel down in the presence of the Chief *Mobed*, facing his adversary, and say: 'First hear this man's suit against me, before all the other cases. Award him justice, and show no favour or bias.' Then the king's herald would proclaim: 'If any persons among you have suits against the king, let them sit together, so that your claims for justice on the king may be awarded or dealt with first!' Then the king, together with his adversary, would kneel in front of the Chief *Mobed* and say to the latter: 'No sins are greater in the view of God on High than the sins of kings. The debt owed to God on High by kings in return for His blessings to them is paid by their protection of the subjects, redress of the subjects' grievances and extirpation of the subjects' oppressors. If the king himself should be unjust, (the subjects) must not forget God on High on account of (the king). O *Mobed*, keep watch over yourself! Keep watch lest you choose me rather than your own self! For I shall put to you the same questions as God on High will put to me, and I now lay the responsibility on your shoulders!' Then the *Mobed*

¹ Similar accounts of the royal audiences at Nawrūz (the still celebrated spring festival) and Mihragān (the autumn festival) appear in the *Siyāsatnāmah*, chap. vi, and in the *Kitāb al-Tāj*, pp. 159-63; tr. Pellat, pp. 179-81.

² *Mūbad-i mūbadān*, likewise in Ar. (I): see p. 80, note 2.

³ *Qādi'l-quḍāt*.

would say: 'When God on High grants good fortune to His slaves, He deposes to be chief over them the man who is the best of His creatures on earth; and when He desires that His slaves shall know how much He values that Deputy,¹ he causes the Deputy's tongue to pronounce just such words as your tongue has now been pronouncing.' Then the *Mobed* would try the case and, if in the proceedings between the king and his adversary a valid claim was established by the latter, would award him damages in full against the king; but if any person laid a false claim against the king and could produce no proof, the *Mobed* would sentence him to be punished, and then proclaim: 'Such is the reward of men who seek to defame the king and the realm!' When the king had finished trying the cases, he would reascend the throne, place the crown upon his head, and turn to his officials² and say: 'I began with myself, so that no man thereafter might hope to do injustice to another. If any of you have adversaries, it is up to you to grant them satisfaction likewise.'

On that day, those who had been nearest to the king were farthest; those who had been strongest (in his estimation) were weakest; and those who [had been highest in his sight] were lowest. [All the Kings of the Persians] continued in this way until the reign of Yazdgard the Sinner,³ who changed the customs of the Sāsānids. He governed the world unjustly,⁴ until a horse came in through the door of the palace one day. It was an extremely fine horse, the like of which had never been described. Those who were present at Yazdgard's court were of one accord as to the horse's beauty, and they all attempted to catch it, but could not. Finally, it walked up to Yazdgard and stopped still in front of him at the end of the hall.⁵ Yazdgard then rose, saying: 'Keep well away! This

¹ *Sālār*; Ar. (I), *Khalīfah*.

² *Hasham*; Ar. (I), *jamā'atihi wa khāṣṣatihi*, 'his company and his nobles'.

³ *Yazdgard-i Bazahkār (al-Athīm)*, i.e. Yazdgard I. The *Siyāsatnāmah*, chap. vi, and the *Kitāb al-Tāj*, p. 163, tr. Pellat, p. 181, state that Yazdgard I abolished the audiences. Ṭabarī does not mention this in his account of Yazdgard I, but states (tr. Nöldeke, p. 113) that Bahrām Gūr's son Yazdgard II gave up attending long public audiences (as his father had done) so that he might better take counsel for the good of the kingdom and ill of its enemies.

⁴ Ar. (I) adds: 'and spread corruption'. Similar accounts of the miraculous horse which killed Yazdgard 'the Sinner' are given in the *Siyāsatnāmah*, chap. vi; in the *Kitāb al-Tāj*, pp. 163-4; tr. Pellat, p. 182; by Tha'libī, ed. and tr. Zotenberg, pp. 548-9; and by Ṭabarī, tr. Nöldeke, p. 77.

⁵ *Iwān*; also in Ar. (I). According to Ṭabarī and Tha'libī, Yazdgard's death took place at a royal palace in Gurgān.

horse is a gift which God has bestowed on me.' Then he stood up, and ever so gently stroked the horse's head and face. The horse stayed still. Then Yazdgard called for a saddle and with his own hand put the saddle on its back and pulled (the strap) tight. Then he stepped behind the horse to slip the crupper on. The horse kicked Yazdgard right on the heart, and he died at once. Then the horse turned and bolted, and nobody knew whence it had come. People said that it was an angel commissioned by Almighty God to deliver them from that tyrant.

Anecdote

The *Qāḍi* (Abū Yūsuf¹) relates: 'One day when Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd al-Barmakī was present at a session of the Council of State,² a Magian came in and lodged a claim against him. I asked (the Magian to bring) a witness, but he had no witnesses. Then he said (to me), "Make him swear on oath (that he will tell the truth)." I made (Yaḥyā) swear (and settled the case between Yaḥyā) and the Magian, (who) went away (satisfied). I had placed Yaḥyā on an equal footing with the Magian, as Islām requires.³ I was never biased in any person's favour, because I feared to be questioned thereon by God on High.'

On this subject of the Authority of Rulers⁴ there is much to be said; but I did not want it to be longer than this and am content to have written this much, in order that the reader may know the worth of notables and commoners⁵ alike, and in order that he may refrain from treating his commoners unjustly. (At the same time) the subjects are under an obligation to honour their Sultān and never in any way to rebel against him, if they are to comply with the command of God on High which we have already mentioned⁶ (Q. iv. 62): 'Obey God, and obey the Prophet and those

¹ P. (H), Abū Sufyān; Ar. (I), Abū Yūsuf.

² *Majlis-i ḥukm*; Ar. (I), *majlis ḥukmī*. Perhaps what is meant is a session of the *Diwān al-naẓar fi'l-mazālim*. According to R. Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*, Cambridge (Eng.), 1957, p. 348, these courts for the redress of grievances were usually presided over by the *wazīr*, rather than by the 'Abbāsīd Caliph in person. Cf. the High Council (*Majlis-i A'lā*) mentioned on p. 4 above.

³ *Ḥaqq-i Islām-rā*. Sentence missing in Ar. (I). In fact the *Shari'at* regarded evidence by non-Muslims as valueless in cases involving Muslims (*Shorter E.I.*, art. *Shāhid*); but pious Muslim rulers took great care to be impartial between Muslims and non-Muslims (e.g. 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, cited in Levy, op. cit., p. 342).

⁴ *Dar bāb-i Sultān*. Missing in Ar. (I).

⁵ *Mihtarān u Kihtarān*; Ar. (I), *Al-zu'amā' wa'l-akābir . . . al-aṣāghir*.

⁶ Cf. above, p. 45.

among you who hold authority.' When God on High gives a man so lofty a rank and position that He enjoins obedience to that man in the same context as obedience to Himself and to His Apostle, it is mankind's duty to obey that man; (and it is that man's duty, in gratitude for God's blessings), to rule justly and do good in accordance with the divine commands, to refrain from oppressing the subjects, and to show mercy to the victims of injustice. There is a saying, 'Beware of the man who seeks vengeance with tears'; for the plea of the victim of injustice cannot be shut out by any chamberlain. It will assuredly be answered by God, especially if it be a midnight invocation;¹ as the saying goes,²

Although you hold power, don't hasten to wrong and oppress mankind,
because it will lead you to sin and to fear of hell in the end!
While you're forgetfully sleeping, the man whom you wronged is awake;
for sleep never overcomes him who prays to the Almighty Lord.

God's Apostle, blessings upon him, said:³ 'I mourned the deaths of four men who were not believers: Anūshīrvān for his justice, Ḥāṭim al-Ṭā'i for his generosity, Imru'l-Qays for his poetry, and Abū Ṭālib for his piety.'

¹ *Du'ā'*. Cf. Q. xvii. 80-81: 'Perform the prayer (*al-ṣalāt*) at the sinking of the sun until the darkening of the night, and the Qur'ān-recitation of dawn; Qur'ān-reciting at dawn is witnessed (by God).—And in part of the night, keep vigil in it, as a work of supererogation for you.'

² Ar. (I): 'Do not hasten to oppress (mankind) as long as you hold power; it will end in sin and fear of torment.—You sleep while the victim of your injustice is awake—and his prayer cannot be shut out (by any chamberlain).'

³ In Arabic; the same in Ar. (I).

CHAPTER II

ON HANDLING THE WAZIRATE AND THE CHARACTER OF WAZIRS¹

You should understand that a king will be successful with the help of a virtuous, worthy and competent minister;² because no king can reign without a minister, and any king who acts (solely) on his own judgement will surely fall. Are not you aware how God's Apostle, despite the high rank which he held, was commanded by God to consult the intelligent and the learned among his Companions? God on High commanded (Q. iii. 153), 'And consult them on the matter'; and in another place, referring to Moses (Q. xx. 30-33), 'Appoint for me a *wazir*³ from among my own kinsfolk, Aaron my brother. Confirm my strength through him, and associate him in my task.' (In Persian) He said, 'Appoint my *wazir* from among my own kinsfolk, Aaron my brother.' If Prophets (could) not do without *wazirs* and administrators,⁴ how much the more do we need them?

Ardashir Pābakān was asked, 'Which companion suits the king best?' He replied, 'A virtuous, intelligent, devoted and honest minister, with whom views can be exchanged and to whom secrets can be told; for good ministers see how kings are faring.'

The king ought to observe three principles in his treatment of the *wazir*: (i) not to punish him in haste when vexed with him; (ii) not to covet his wealth when he grows rich; and (iii) not to refuse him a (necessary) request when he makes one. Similarly, the king ought to grant three facilities to the *wazir*: (i) to let him see the king whenever he wishes; (ii) not to listen to talk by

¹ *Dar siyāsat-i wīzārat wa sirat-i wazīrān*; likewise in Ar. (I). On *siyāsat*, cf. p. 45, note 1.

² *Dastūr*; Ar. (I), *wazir*. Henceforward *dastūr* will be rendered 'minister', and *wazir* (in P. (H)) will be rendered '*wazir*'. According to Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 120, the title *dastūr* was given to Zoroastrian juriconsults (cf. the Muslim *muftis*). In present-day Irān it is given to Zoroastrian priests. In Ar. (I), 'minister' is always '*wazir*', but Yūnān is sometimes called 'The *Dastūr*'. See Introduction, p. xlv and p. lxvii.

³ Cf. Q. xxv. 37: 'We appointed with (Moses) his brother Aaron as a *wazir*.' These are the two Qur'ānic occurrences of the word.

⁴ *Ahl-i kār*. Not in Ar. (I).

slanderers against him; and (iii) not to keep secrets hidden from him. For the good minister is the guardian of the king's secrets, and on him depend the orderly handling of business, the revenue, and the prosperity of the realm and of the treasury; through him the monarchy acquires adornment, prestige and power. Suggesting (courses of action) and answering questions are his constant tasks. He is the gladdener of the king's friends and the confounder of the king's enemies. No man is more deserving of encouragement and esteem than such a minister.

It is related that Anūshīrvān recommended to his son:¹ 'Respect the minister, for if ever he should see you engaged in any unworthy activity, he would not collude with you in it. A *wazir* must be the sort of man who inclines to virtue and shrinks from evil. If he finds the king to be kind-hearted and sympathetic towards the subjects, he will be a (good) helper in the king's (task); with a little capital, he will in time bring in a (good) return. (If² the king is hard-hearted and unsympathetic, the *wazir* must gradually redirect him in the gentlest possible manner, and guide him to the praiseworthy, or rather the well-praised, path.) (My son) should understand that stability comes to the king through the minister and to the world through the king; he should (be aware) that he ought not to think or do anything save that which is good; and he should know that the first person whom a king needs is a minister.'

Bahrām Gūr was asked, 'How many things does the king need to complete the course of his reign and to live his life free of care?' He replied, 'Six things: (i) a good minister to whom he may reveal secrets and with whom he may exchange opinions; (ii) a good horse to rescue him should ever the need arise; (iii) good weapons and swords; (iv) copious wealth of light weight and heavy value, such as jewels, pearls, rubies and the like; (v) a wife of fair countenance to console him in his troubles; and (vi) a good cook who, if the king's temper is frayed, will cook something to soothe it.'

Ardashir has said, 'Every king will be well advised to seek, and having found, to keep, these four: (i) a *wazir* who can be trusted; (ii) a secretary³ who possesses erudition; (iii) a chamberlain⁴ who shows mercy; and (iv) a boon companion⁵ who gives good counsel. When the minister is trustworthy, this shows that the king is safe;

¹ *Pisār-rā waṣīyat kard*; Ar. (I), *qāla Kisrā Anūshīrvān li-waladihi*. See Introduction, p. lxii. Ar. (H), *Luqmān*.

² From Ar. (I); missing in P. (H).

³ *Dabir*; Ar. (I), *al-kātib*. Cf. p. 114 and note 4.

⁴ *Hājib*.

⁵ *Nadīm*.

when the secretary is erudite, this shows that the king is intelligent; when the chamberlain is merciful, the people bring their petitions to the king; and when the boon companion is a good counsellor, this shows that things are not heading for disaster.'

The Chief *Mobed*¹ in the reign of Anūshīrvān said: 'Kingship cannot be maintained without good and helpful assistants, and (the best of assistants) will be of no avail unless the king himself is pious; for the root must first be sound, and then the branch.' Piety in a king means uprightness,² namely that he should be upright in all his dealings and should insist by word and deed that all his subjects and officials be as upright as he is; that he should keep his heart uprightly with God on High, and that he should be aware how his might and his power, his accomplishment of his tasks, his triumphing over his enemies, and his success in his ambitions, all come from God. For should he ever become vain-glorious, there would be danger of downfall, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

The Prophet Solomon, God bless him, was seated on the throne of sovereignty. The wind lifted him and carried him into the air. Solomon looked down upon his kingdom, feeling full of vainglory in the obedience rendered to him by birds, (*jinn*s) and humans. Thoughts of his own greatness and majesty were passing through his mind, when suddenly his throne began to topple over. 'O throne, right yourself!' he said. 'Be upright yourself,'³ replied the throne; 'then I will right myself.'

God on High has stated in His tremendous and ever-existent book (Q. xiii. 12): 'Verily God changes not what is in a people until they change what is in themselves.'

Abū 'Ubayd⁴ has said in his (book of) Proverbs: 'He who keeps within the limits prescribed (by God) is safe from stumbling.'

The minister must accordingly be learned, intelligent and old;⁵

¹ *Mūbad-Mūbadan*; likewise in Ar. (I). See p. 80, note 2.

² *Rāstī*, 'truthfulness'; also 'straightness', 'horizontality'.

³ *Rāst bāsh*; Ar. (I), *astaqīm*, 'be straight' (cf. *al-ṣīrāt al-mustaqīm*, 'the straight path', in Q. i. 6).

⁴ Thus in P. (H) and Ar. (I). Probably Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām, whose Proverbs (*Amihāl*) are mentioned by Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, Suppl. 1, p. 166. Ar. (H): Abū 'Ubaydah.

⁵ The *Qābūs-nāmāh* (tr. Levy, pp. 233-4) likewise asserts that the *wazīr* must be old, also that he must possess an imposing appearance and a long beard.

because although a minister may be young and have intelligence, he will not have experience unless he is old, and the things which men learn from life cannot be taught them by any other man. The good minister is the ornament of the monarchy, and a pure and excellent ornament is needed. It has been said that the minister needs five things if his work is to be satisfactory and good: (i) watchfulness, whereby he will see clearly the outcome of everything upon which he enters; (ii) knowledge, whereby concealed things will be revealed to him; (iii) courage, so that he will fear nothing that ought not to be feared and will show no timidity; (iv) truthfulness, so that he will treat all men honestly without exception; and (v) ability to keep secrets at all times, until finally he departs this life still keeping (the king's) secrets.

Ardashīr Pābakān has said that the minister must be unhurried, well-spoken, brave-hearted, broad-minded, good-looking, modest and taciturn; and (in addition) pure in faith,¹ so that he may restrain the king from all unorthodoxy;² ripe in experience, so that he may lighten the king's tasks; and watchful, so that he may see the consequences of things, fear time's vicissitudes, and guard against time's wrath.

Whenever a king has an honest and devoted minister, that minister will have more enemies than friends. Accordingly the king must not listen to talk by slanderers against him; the result will (only) be that the friend bears a grudge and that the enemy suffers disappointment. Likewise the minister, when he sees any undesirable habit (forming) in the king, must bring him back to good habits (but without speaking harshly); because if you speak to a king who is self-willed in a way which displeases him, he will do something still worse. The proof of this statement is that when God on High sent Moses on a mission to Pharaoh, He bade (His prophet) speak gently; in the words of His book (Q. xx. 46), 'And speak³ gently to him, in case he may be mindful or afraid.' Since God on High enjoined gentle speaking to His enemy, it behoves (us) even more to speak gently to other men. If the king replies roughly, the minister must not take it to heart; for power loosens a king's tongue, with the result that he may speak irresponsibly. However devoted, truthful and right-doing the minister may be,

¹ *Pākdīn*; Ar. (I), *ḥasan al-madhab*.

² *Az hamah nāshāyistagī*; Ar. (I), *kulla mā lā yaḥsunu minā'l-ī-tiqād*.

³ The command is in the dual, Moses and his brother Aaron being addressed.

he should never claim credit with the king for his conduct or put the king under an obligation to him; because, as the saying goes, if you do someone a kindness and then reproach him (for ingratitude), you would be better off owing a debt of gratitude yourself. This (maxim) is especially applicable where kings are concerned.

It must be understood that any [good] which the minister and other close associates of the king can do will result from the effulgence surrounding the king,¹ and that people will accordingly owe a debt of gratitude to the king; while the worst disasters which can befall a king will arise from two sources—from an (unfaithful) minister, and from evil intent.

Anūshīrvān has said that the worst minister is one who whets the king's (appetite) for war at times when suspension of war would be expedient; [because ordered government, and life, health and property are destroyed in war].²

Aristotle³ has said that when a king has an ignorant minister, his reign will be like a cloud which passes without dropping rain.

Aphorism

(In) the Book of Maxims,⁴ (Aristotle) has said: 'Work which is done by another man's hand, both by way of smooth-speaking and by way of rough-speaking,⁵ and which serves your purpose and brings you no discredit, will be better than work which you do with your own hand.' There is a proverb coined by the sages: 'Better to catch the snake with other men's hands.' The wisest *wazīr* is one who, as long as he can, will wage war by correspondence and diplomacy⁶ and use (every) artifice to stop war. If he cannot put things right through diplomacy and artifices, he will try giving presents. If their (army)⁷ is defeated, he will pardon their faults and will not be in haste to kill them, because a man still alive can be killed,

¹ *Farr-i pādshāh*; Ar. (I), *bi-iqbālī'l-maliki wa barakatihi*. Cf. p. 45 and pp. 73-74 above, where the term is *farr-i izādī*, 'divine effulgence'.

² Ar. (I), 'because war in other circumstances (i.e. when not expedient) annihilates the stores of wealth, and abases the generous (qualities) in men's souls and the well protected (virtues) in men's spirits'.

³ Thus in P. (H). Ar. (I) and Ar. (H): 'He (Anūshīrvān) also said . . . '.

⁴ P. (H), *Pandnāmah guftah ast*. Ar. (I), *Fi Kitāb Waṣāyā Zayn al-Hukamā' Aristāfālīs*. See Introduction, pp. lxx-lxxiii.

⁵ *Az charb-zabānī wa durushtī*; Ar. (I), *bilā ḥarbin walā khushūnah*, 'without war or roughness'.

⁶ *bi-nāmah u tadbīr*. Missing in Ar. (I), where this sentence is defective.

⁷ Thus in Ar. (I); neither version makes clear whether the king's army or the enemy's army is meant.

whereas a man once killed cannot be made alive. A man becomes a man in forty years, and out of a hundred men one proves competent (to serve the Sultān);¹ and if a man from the king's army is taken prisoner, (the good minister) will ransom him, to give hope and encouragement to the rest. He must keep each man's ration at the proper level, and call up men for training² in the use of military equipment and weapons; and he must speak kindly to them and treat them civilly, because many *wazīrs* were killed by the troops in the days of old. It is indeed good fortune for the king when God on High gives him a competent, truthful and devoted *wazīr*; for the Prophet, God bless him, said: 'When principedom or (high) office are granted to a man, God on High, if He wishes that man well, will give him a pious, truthful and right-doing *wazīr*, to remind him if he forgets anything of his duty towards the subjects, and to assist him if he remembers.'

The author of this book declares that in all periods of time God on High manifests His power over the world by selecting certain categories of His slaves, such as kings, ministers, and doctors of religion, in the interest of the world's prosperity.³ One of the marvels of the world is the story of the Barmakids⁴ whose munificence and generosity no men have equalled, so numerous were their governorships and so copious their revenues. After (their fall), the office of steward and *wazīr* to the kings decayed and lost status and lustre, until God on High reformed (matters) through the Glory of the Empire Nizām al-Mulk, al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Ishāq.⁵ God raised him to the same high level as the *wazīrs* of old, and indeed even higher; so much so that among the rich and cultured, the alien (and poor), and the rest, there is nobody whether noble or humble who has not benefited from his bounty and benevolence.⁶ We have only mentioned this point in order that the reader may understand how great is the disparity between men who are suitable and men who are not.

Buzurgmihr has said: 'Some things are not comparable with

¹ Thus in Ar. (I).

² Reading *tadrīb-rā*, for P. (H) *mard-rā*. Ar. (I), 'and he must train (*yudarriba*) the brave men. . . '.

³ *Ābādānī*. Cf. p. 37, note 3.

⁴ Name missing in Ar. (I).

⁵ Ar. (I), 'until God . . . caused the blessing of the House of Saljūq and the shadow of their empire (*ẓill dawlatihim*), al-Nizām (?-Nizām ul-Mulk), and brought them to the level of the *wazīrs* of old . . . ' See Introduction, p. xxiv.

⁶ Ar. (I), 'embraced in their bounty and submerged in gratitude to them', i.e. presumably the bounty of the Saljūqs.

others. The essential qualities of man are finer than all (other) qualities, for the universe from end to end has been embellished by man. God on High does not make mistakes; He grants worthiness to whomsoever He wills, and keeps every individual in whatsoever state He wills.' Kings, and (their) ministers and the stewards (of their domains), must therefore be in this category (of those to whom worthiness is granted). They must conserve the usages of the ancients, and when they demand sums of money from the subjects for the well-being of the empire, they must demand them only at the proper seasons and times; they must know the usages and fix (tax-)burdens in accordance with capacity and ability (to pay). They must be 'crane-slayers, not sparrow-slayers, at the hunt': that is to say, they must take nothing from the poor; they must not covet the belongings and estates of deceased persons when there are heirs, but must shun such greed, as it is inauspicious; they must keep the hearts of the subjects and officials happy by granting them benefits and satisfying their petitions; and they must realize that their rank and dignity and their competence and worth are bound up with the welfare of the subjects. They will then earn good repute in this world, and forgiveness and acceptance in the next.

CHAPTER III

ON THE ART OF THE PEN AND THE
(FUNCTIONS OF) SECRETARIES¹

Scholars have said that there is nothing so fine as the pen,² because through it all past events may be reconstituted. Among the fine points of the pen, one is that God on High has sworn oaths by it: in the words of His book (Q. lxxviii. 1), 'Nūn. By the pen and what they inscribe', and in another place (Q. xcvi. 3-4), 'Recite: And your Lord is the Most Generous, Who taught by the pen.' (Moreover) God's Apostle, blessing upon him, stated: 'The first thing that God created was the pen',³ meaning (in Persian), 'When God on High created the first thing, He created the pen.' With it He determines that which will occur until the Resurrection (day).

It is related that⁴ 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās, in his commentary on the verse (Q. xii. 55) 'Set me over the storehouses of the land; I am a knowing keeper', has said that God on High quotes (the words of) Joseph, on whom be peace, and that the words mean 'Give me the stores of the land, for I am a secretary and can keep accounts.' He has also said,⁵ 'The pen is the goldsmith of words'; and again, 'The heart is a mine, intelligence is the gem and the pen is the jeweller.' Other sayings of his⁶ are, 'The pen is the physician of words' and⁷ 'The pen is a great talisman.' One of the kings of Greece⁸ said, 'This world's affairs are determined by two things only, and one of them is beneath the other: they are the sword and the pen, and the sword is beneath the pen.' The pen is the art and merchandise of those who learn; through it are known the opinions of all men, be they near or far. However much experience of life men may have, they do not become intelligent

¹ Reading *kuttāb* (pl. of *kātib*), 'secretaries'; elsewhere the term used in P. (H) is *dabīr*. Ar. (I), 'On secretaries (*kuttāb*) and their art' (*adab*).

² *qalam*; Ar. (I), *al-'ilm*, 'knowledge', probably a copyist's error.

³ *qalam*; Ar. (I), *al-'ilm*.

⁴ Ar. (I), *Ḥadīth*; see Introduction, p. lvii.

⁵ Ar. (I) and Ar. (H): 'Ibn al-Mu'tazz has said . . . '.

⁶ Ar. (I) and Ar. (H): 'Galen (*Yālīnūs*) has said . . . '.

⁷ Ar. (I), 'and ? Nalīyās the sage has said . . . '; Ar. (H), ? Balīnās (? Apollonius of Tyana).

⁸ Ar. (I) and Ar. (H): Alexander.

until they read books; for it is obvious that not very much experience can be acquired in this brief existence, and it is also evident that not much (knowledge) can be memorized.

Moreover, if the sword and the pen did not exist, this world would not stand on its feet. These two are rulers over all things. Secretaries, however, must know other things besides the art of writing if they are to be fit for the service of great men. The sages and kings of old have said: 'The secretary must know ten things. One is the nearness or farness of water beneath the ground for digging irrigation tunnels.¹ Others are: knowledge of the [lengths of] night and day in winter and summer; the courses of the moon, stars and sun, and their conjunctions and oppositions; ability to count on the fingers;² geometry;³ the science of calendars and dates; the requirements of farmers; acquaintance with medicine and pharmacy; ability to forecast north and south winds; and skill in versification and rhyme.'⁴ Besides knowing all these things, the secretary must be cheerful-hearted and pleasant to meet. He must [know how] to cut,⁵ handle, take up and put down the pen; how to express with its nib all that is in his mind; and how to safeguard himself from the excesses of the pen. He must also know which letters (of the alphabet) should be written in elongated form, which in rounded form, and which should be joined.

As for handwriting, he must write legibly and in a way which will do justice to each letter, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

A secretary employed by 'Umar [ibn al-Khaṭṭāb] as a revenue officer⁶ wrote a letter to 'Umar in which he had not made the 's' of

¹ *Kāriz-hā*; still so-called in 'Irāq, but in modern Irān usually *qanawāt* (sing. *qanāt*). Some districts, such as Yazd, depend entirely for their water on these tunnels, which are up to 50 miles (80 km.) long. Words missing in Ar. (I).

² *Shumār-i angusht*; Ar. (I), *al-ḥisāb bi'l-aṣābi*, i.e. arithmetic.

³ *Shumār-i handasah*; Ar. (I), *ḥisābu'l-handasah*. Or perhaps 'engineering'.

⁴ Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī in his *Chahār Maqālāh* (tr. E. G. Browne, *G.M.S.* xi. 2, p. 12) says that four men are essential in the service of kings—the Secretary, the Poet, the Astrologer, and the Physician; but he does not require the Secretary to be expert in all these arts. Ibn Qutaybah, however, states in his *Uyūn al-Akhbār* (Cairo, 1343/1925, i, Part I, p. 44) that the Persians used to say that no man was properly qualified as a secretary unless expert in irrigation and canal-digging, astronomy and the calendar, weights and measures, geometry, bridge and aqueduct building, craftsmen's tools, and details of arithmetic. Probably these qualities were needed for assessing taxes.

⁵ i.e. of reed pens (see below). *Qalam* (Ar.) is from Latin *calamus*, 'reed'.

⁶ *Āmil*; see p. 15, note 4.

'*Bismillāh*' ('in God's name') legible. ('Umar) summoned him and said: 'First make the 's' of '*Bismillāh*' legible. Then you may return to your post.'

The first thing which secretaries should know is how to cut pens. When people know how to cut pens properly, at any rate their handwriting will be better, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

The Shāhanshāh of Rayy¹ is said to have had twelve *wazīrs*. One of them was the Ṣaḥīb Ismā'il ibn 'Abbād. All the other *wazīrs* were as one in cursing and maligning him.² When the (Shāhanshāh) observed this, he gathered them together, and (the Ṣaḥīb) said to them: 'What accomplishments have you which I lack, that you can speak so ill of me to the king? [My father taught me the profession of wazīrship, not that of carpentry.] Pen-cutting is the least of my accomplishments. But who is there among you who can cut a pen, dip it once into the ink-well, and with that (much ink) write a whole line?' None could. The Shāhanshāh then said to him, 'Cut one!' He did, and wrote (a whole line). Then they all acknowledged his excellence.

As regards the reeds (from which pens are cut), the best ones will be straight, narrow in diameter, and yellow.³ Pens (cut with the nib) slanting⁴ from the right (are desirable) for (writing) Persian, Arabic and Hebrew, and pens (cut with the nib) slanting to the left for the (? Greek⁵) language. Secretaries must have the best

¹ Thus in Ar. (I). P. (H), *Shāhanshāh-rā*, 'the Shāhanshāh had'. See Index.

² Ar. (I) adds: 'and in saying that the Ṣaḥīb could not cut his pen'. Details and technical terms concerning pens, pen-knives, ink, ink-wells, paper, seals, forms of address and reply, dates, &c., are given by Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī (d. 335 or 336/947 or 948) in his *Adab al-Kuttāb*, ed. Muḥammad Bahjat al-Atharī, Baghdād and Cairo, 1341/1922, Part II, pp. 91–192.

³ *zard*; Ar. (I), *aṣfar al-lawṇ*. No mention of 'yellowness' in reed-pens was found in Ṣūlī, op. cit. Perhaps 'yellow' means 'well-dried' (not green). Cf. below, p. 117, notes 1 and 2.

⁴ *muḥarraf*. Ṣūlī, op. cit., p. 86, says that pens must be slightly *muḥarraf* (cut with a slant) in order to hold the ink.

⁵ P. (H), *zabān-i Sūyī*, for which Prof. Humā'i conjectures *Sūrī*; but the Syriac language was ordinarily called *Siriānī*. Ar. (I), *Darī*; this was a form of old Persian spoken in Khurāsān and used as the court language at Ctesiphon in Sāsānian times, but it must have been written like Pahlavi from right to left in a form of Syriac alphabet. Perhaps *Sūyī* and *Darī* are copyist's errors for *Rūmī*, 'Roman', which was the name given to Byzantine Greek (e.g. by Ṣūlī, op. cit., pp. 192–3, describing how Arabic replaced Persian and Greek in the *diwāns* under 'Abd al-Malik and Ḥajjāj).

of pens, such as those described by Yahyà (ibn Khālid) al-Barmakī in the letter which he sent to Muḥammad Layth; in it he described such pens as 'neither thin nor thick, and narrow in diameter' and straight'. Knives for cutting pens must be sharp, with the blade shaped like a crane's bill and (set) on a slope from the right. The block² on which the nib is cut must be exceedingly hard. The ink ingredients³ must be from Pārs, of good quality and light weight. The paper⁴ must be glossy and of even texture. The ink ingredients must be properly dissolved. No letter should be elongated when there are more than three (in a word),⁵ as this looks ugly; and the letters must be properly proportioned to one another. This can only be done by discerning, intelligent persons whose hands are accustomed to it.

Anecdote

'Abd Allāh ibn Rāfi', a secretary employed by the Prince of the Believers 'Alī, on whom be peace, relates: 'I had been writing dispatches. The Prince of the Believers said to me, "O 'Abd Allāh, lengthen⁶ the ink-well and lengthen the pen, leave (broad) spaces between the lines and write the letters in rounded form."'

Anecdote

'Abd Allāh ibn Jabalah was a good secretary. He used to tell his apprentices: 'If you possess a pen, you possess an ocean; if

¹ Ar. (I): 'with a thin line'.

² P. (H): 'that on which pens are cut'. Ar. (I), *al-miqatt*. Described by Šūlī, op. cit., p. 110. Usually of hard bone or ivory.

³ *Anqās*. Šūlī, op. cit., p. 102, says that *naqs* is a synonym for *midād* ('ink ingredients').

⁴ *Kāghidh*. Šūlī, op. cit., pp. 105-9, uses the term *qirṭās* (papyrus).

⁵ *Ḥarf* ('word'); *paykar* ('letter'). Ar. (I) says the opposite: 'Every letter (*ḥarf*) which is more than three letters (*aḥruf*); ? when there are more than three to a word) must be elongated, and any less than three must not be elongated.'

⁶ *dirāz dār*; Ar. (I) *aṭil*. Šūlī, op. cit., p. 103, has a paragraph explaining the term *madd al-dawāt* ('stretching the ink-well'). It meant putting ink ingredients (*midād*) and other substances (camphor and salt used as preservatives) into the ink-well; cf. also Lane, *Arabic Lexicon*, s.v. *madda al-sirāj*, 'to put oil into the lamp'. Ar. (H): *aliq*, 'put in wadding' (*liqah*, which consisted of cotton, wool, or silk fibres called *kursuf*—cf. Šūlī, pp. 99-100). It would seem that *dirāz dār* is a Persian translation of *madd*, and that *aṭil* is an Arabic retranslation of *dirāz dār*. 'Lengthen the ink-well' would thus mean 'replenish it'; and 'lengthen the pen' may mean 'give it a more elongated nib' (*nūk*, *ra's*).

not, a burden.¹ Every pen you possess must be (prepared) in such a way that it will (?) breathe yellow.² Cut the knot³ in such a way that your affairs will not become knotted if you continue.'

No letter should be dispatched without a seal.⁴ 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās, God bless them both, used to say, in his explanation of God's⁵ statement (Q. xxvii. 29) 'An honourable letter has been dropped to me', that a sealed letter is meant.

God's Apostle, on whom be peace, requested that a letter be written to a group of Persians.⁶ The (secretaries) said, 'They will not read an unsealed letter.' He then affixed his signet-ring,⁷ on the stone of which was inscribed, (in) three lines, 'Muḥammad Apostle of God'.

(Tradition)⁸

Šakhr ibn 'Amr al-Kalbī has related that when the Prophet, God bless him, wrote⁹ his letter to the Negus (of Abyssinia), he dropped it on to the dust and then dispatched it. When the Negus saw the Prophet's letter, he forthwith became a Muslim. When the Prophet wrote his letter to Kisrā,¹⁰ he did not drop it on to the dust, and Kisrā did not become a Muslim. The Prophet then commanded: 'Dust your letters,¹¹ and your entreaties will have better success.'

¹ *Agar qalam dārid baḥrī dārid wa agar nah bārī*; a play on the words *baḥr* (Ar., 'ocean') and *bār* (P., 'burden'). Ar. (I): 'Let your pens be *baḥrī*, and if they are not *baḥrī*, let them be yellow' (cf. above, p. 115, note 3, and below, next note). *Baḥr* ('ocean') was used in literature as a symbol of abundant generosity, also of abundant learning.

² *bi-zardī dam zanad*; sentence missing in Ar. (I). Cf. preceding note, and note 3 on p. 115, where 'yellow' seems to refer to the reeds from which pens are made. The meaning here is obscure.

³ *bandgāh . . . bastah shavad*; Ar. (I), '*aqd . . . tata' aqqada*. Meaning not clear.

⁴ *Muhr*. Ar. (I): 'The nobility of a letter is in its seal' (*khatam*); i.e. signature affixed by sign manual or signet ring.

⁵ In Q., it is the Queen of Sheba (Bilqīs) who speaks. The letter was carried to her by the hoopoe (*hudhud*) from Solomon, asking her to embrace Islām, which she did.

⁶ Ar. (I), 'to the Persians' (*al-'Ajām*).

⁷ *Angushtarī*; Ar. (I), *khātim*. This ring later passed to 'Uthmān, and it was an ill omen when he accidentally dropped it into a well and could not find it.

⁸ *Khabar*. See Introduction, p. lvii.

⁹ *nāmāh-i navisht*; Ar. (I), *kataba kitābahu*. Evidently the transmitters of this Tradition did not hold that the epithet *ummī* (which is applied to the Prophet) meant 'illiterate'.

¹⁰ i.e. Khusraw II Parvīz; see Index. Muḥammad is also said to have written to the Byzantine emperor.

¹¹ Both sayings are in Arabic. According to Prof. Humā'i, the first is also quoted in Ibn al Athīr's *Nihāyat al-Arib*. Šūlī, op. cit., p. 126, *Tatīb al-Kitāb wa Taṭy-inuhu*, is not very informative. Dust was used instead of blotting paper.

He also commanded: 'Dust the letter. Verily dust is blessed.' This means (in Persian), 'When the letter has been written, drop it on to the dust, for dust is blessed.'

When you have written the letter, read through what you have included in it before you fold it, so that in case there should be a mistake you may detect it.

The secretary must also try hard to ensure that the wording (of letters) shall not be prolix, but brief and meaningful. The same words must not be written twice, and heavy phrases must be avoided if the writer is to win praise.

A great deal has been said on the subject of the art of the secretary. May (the reader) be content with this much, lest (the discourse) become too long. There is a saying (in Arabic), 'The best discourse is one which is brief, significant and not boring'; that is to say (in Persian), 'The best discourse is one which takes so short a time to deliver and is so close to reality and full of guidance that (the listener) will become, not wearied or bored with it, but more and more eager to learn it by heart.'

CHAPTER IV

ON MAGNANIMITY IN KINGS¹

Anecdote

The Prince of the Believers 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, God be pleased with him, has said: 'Take good care not to be mean-minded; for I have seen nothing more degrading in men than low-mindedness.' As 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣṣ has said, 'Where a man puts himself, there will he find himself; that is to say, if he has self-respect he will be elevated, and if he has self-contempt he will be abased.' Now the meaning of the word 'magnanimity' is 'self-restraint and courage',² and magnanimity in men of high rank comes from self-respect and self-knowledge. A man is never [respected] by other men unless he respects himself, or valued by other men unless he values himself. Self-respect consists of not mixing with ignoble persons, not conversing with unworthy persons, not doing deeds which ill become one, and not saying words which people will hold to one's discredit.

Magnanimity and courage³ are found in kings and high-ranking persons, for God on High has implanted these characteristics in them. Kings who lack this characteristic will have difficulty in acquiring it from boon-companions and *wazīrs*, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

Abū Dawānīq⁴ ordered that five hundred *dirhams* be given to a certain man. Aḥmad (?) ibn al-Ḥaṣab⁵ said, 'No king should reckon in terms of less than a thousand.'

¹ *Dar bulandī-yi himmat-i pādshāhān*; Ar. (I), *Fī sumūwi himamī'l-mulūk*. *Himmat* (concern for one's own dignity and the welfare of others) is henceforward translated 'magnanimity'.

² *Khvish-tan-dāri . . . wa pur-dilī*; Ar. (I), *an yarfi'a nafsahu*, 'that he elevates himself'. ³ Ar. (I), 'pride' (*al-anafah*).

⁴ A sobriquet of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph Manṣūr, given to him because of his parsimony. A *dāniq* (pl. *dawāniq*) was a coin worth one sixth of a *dirham*. Both P. (H) and Ar. (I) have *dawāniq* for *dawāniq*. From the Persian *dāng*, which is still used, meaning the sixth part of the revenue of an estate.

⁵ Thus in P. (H). Ar. (I), Aḥmad ibn al-Khaṭṭāb; Ar. (H), Aḥmad ibn al-Khaṣīb. See Index.

Similarly, when Hārūn al-Rashid was riding in procession one day, one of the soldiers fell off his horse. Hārūn said, 'Give him five hundred *dirhams*.' Yahyā (ibn Khālīd al-Barmakī) made a signal with the eye meaning 'That is wrong'. When they dismounted, Hārūn asked him: 'What did I do wrong that you signalled to me thus with the eye?' He replied: '(Sums) less (than a thousand) ought not to be uttered by royal lips. That they should deign to mention them is unseemly.' Hārūn asked ['If a case occurred in which more than five hundred *dirhams* would be disproportionate, what should be done?'] Yahyā replied:] 'Tell them to give (the man) a horse with appurtenances.¹ That would show that you are not petty-minded.'

It was for the same reason that the Caliph Ma'mūn excluded (his son) 'Abbās, who had been heir-apparent, from the succession. What happened was that Ma'mūn passed by the door of 'Abbās's room one day and heard him call to a page-boy: 'I saw a lot of nice leeks at the Ruṣāfah gate and want some. Take half a *dirham* in silver and bring me some of those leeks.' Ma'mūn (summoned him and) said: 'Now that you have learnt how to halve a *dirham*, you have ceased to be suitable as heir-apparent. Under you, there would be no well-being for anybody.'

Anecdote

It is related that (Ardashīr)² in his testament to his son advised (as follows): 'If you wish to give something to a person, keep yourself superior to that thing, so that you may give it to him with your own hand or order that it be brought into your presence and then give it when your eye can fall on him. Try to ensure that your gift be worth not less than the income from a town,³ so that the person may have wealth and be freed from want, and so that

¹ P. (H): 'with that which goes on it'. Ar. (I): 'in accordance with the current etiquette'. A royal gift of a horse was accompanied with full trappings for the horse and armour for its rider, with or without an allowance and a groom for the horse's upkeep.

² P. (H): 'It is related that Shāpūr ibn Ardashīr in his testament (*waṣīyat-nāmah*) to his son . . .'. Ar. (I): 'It is related that in the testament (*waṣīyat*) of King Ardashīr . . .'; likewise in Ar. (H). Mas'ūdī, however (*Prairies d'or*, ii, pp. 164-6), quotes various sayings of Sābūr ibn Ardashīr, including a death-bed injunction for his son Hurmuz and their successors to maintain high morals, elevated generosity, and meritorious effort. See Introduction, p. lxii.

³ P. (H), 'the value (*qīmat*) of a town'. Ar. (I): 'the value of the income (*qīmat dakhīl*) of a province or village, or the value of the income of a town or hamlet'.

his clan as long as they survive may be rich through you. You will then be counted among the living, not among the dead. Beware also of wishing to engage in any sort of trade; that is (a mark of) mean-mindedness in kings.'

Anecdote

They say that one of the ministers of Hurmuz ibn Shāpūr wrote a letter to the king in which he mentioned: 'Some merchants have arrived by sea bringing with them pearls, rubies and other jewels. I have bought one hundred thousand *dīnārs* worth of the jewels on behalf of the King. Now there is a certain merchant who will buy them for one hundred thousand *dīnārs* and so much per cent.' Hurmuz said: 'Truly it is not such a (large) sum that we should crave it. If we were to engage in trade, who would carry on the monarchy? Beware of ever doing such a thing again and of ever adulterating our assets with a *dirham* or a *dāng*¹ of trading profits; for this detracts from the good name and good character of the King, and leaves him a bad name after death.'

Anecdote

('Umārah) ibn Ḥamzah² was in Abū Dawānīq (al-Manṣūr's) council-chamber one day. It was the day for the Redress of Grievances.³ A man stood up and said, 'O Prince of the Believers, I have suffered injustice at the hands of 'Umārah ibn Ḥamzah, who has wrongfully seized my landed estate.' Abū Dawānīq said: 'Rise, O 'Umārah. Go and sit facing your adversary and state your case!' 'Umārah replied: 'I am not his adversary. If the estate is one of mine, I present it to him. I shall not rise from my place, because the Caliph has honoured me and placed me here. I will not barter my rank and position for an estate.' These words pleased the noblemen⁴ (present), because (they gave proof) of his high-mindedness.

¹ *dāng*; Ar. (I), *dāniq*. See p. 119, note 4.

² Ar. (I) and Ar. (H): 'The Amīr 'Umārah ibn Ḥamzah.' P. (H): 'Ammār ibn Ḥamzah.' The story of 'Umārah ibn Ḥamzah also appears in the *Siyāsatnāmah*, chap. vi. Schefer's text (p. 40) and tr. (p. 60), and also Schabinger's tr. (p. 141), give the Caliph as Wāthiq; Darke's tr. (p. 46) gives the Caliph as Abū Dawānīq (al-Manṣūr).

³ *Rūx-i maṣālim*; Ar. (I), *yawma naẓārihi fī'l-maṣālim*. Cf. p. 104, note 2.

⁴ *Mihtarān*; Ar. (I), *al-akābir*.

Anecdote¹

Yahyà ibn Khālīd al-Barmakī was riding from Hārūn al-Rashīd's palace to his own palace one day, and as he approached the latter a man appeared and said: 'O 'Abū 'Alī,² I have a petition to make to you, and I have made God on High [my intermediary] to you.' Yahyà ordered that the man be lodged at the gate of his palace and presented with a thousand *dirhams* every day. By the end of the month, thirty thousand *dirhams* had been given to him; he then picked up the silver and departed. Yahyà was informed of this. 'I swear by God,' he said, 'that if the man had not departed, his pension³ would have continued at the same rate until the end of his life.'

(Anecdote)

It is related that Ja'far ibn Mūsà al-Hādī owned a slave-girl⁴ named Badr al-Kabīr. None in her lifetime could possibly have been so fair of countenance and pleasant of temper as she; and in lute-playing,⁵ singing and other arts she had perfect mastery. Muḥammad (ibn) Zubaydah⁶ heard about her and sought to buy her from Ja'far ibn Mūsà. Ja'far told him: 'You know that selling things ill becomes one such as me; but were it not that she is the housekeeper of my palace, I would give her to you.' A few days later Muḥammad ibn Zubaydah came to Ja'far's palace and they sat down to an entertainment.⁷ Badr al-Kabīr sang and played. Muḥammad ibn Zubaydah also sang and played a great deal; and

¹ Before this anecdote, Ar. (I) has the following passage: 'Magnanimity is (essentially) uniform. One man is (magnanimous) by giving generously, another by providing food (? for the hungry), another by having knowledge, another by performing worship and being content with his lot, another by being ascetic, renouncing this world and seeking (reward in) the after-life, and another by seeking increase (? in merit). Magnanimity is not (? only) achieved by giving generously, bestowing money and conferring favours. The king must (also) be like (the person) described in the following anecdote.'

² P. (H) and Ar. (I): Abū 'Alī. Ar. (H): Abū Ja'far. Yahyà's well-known sons were Ja'far and Faḍl (see Index, s.v. Barmakids). Yahyà is, however, called Abū 'Alī in the *Kitāb al Maḥāsīn wa'l Masāwī* of Bayhaqī, ed. Schwally, pp. 544 f.

³ *Wazīfah*.

⁴ *Jāriyah*. Ar. (I), *jāriyah 'awwādah*, 'luteist slave-girl'.

⁵ *Dar bāb-i rūd u surūd*. *Rūd* means a stringed instrument, probably a sort of guitar like the lute. Ar. (I), 'in singing and plucking strings' (*darb al-awtār*).

⁶ i.e. the Caliph (Muḥammad) al-Amin, son of Hārūn al-Rashīd by Queen Zubaydah and cousin of Ja'far, son of Hārūn's brother the Caliph (Mūsà) al-Hādī.

⁷ *Majlis*; Ar. (I), *majlis al-sharāb*, 'wine-drinking party'.

he gave Ja'far a great deal of wine (to drink). Then Muḥammad carried off the slave-girl and took her to his palace, but did not lay his hands on her. On the following day Muḥammad invited Ja'far to an entertainment. When they sat down to the wine, Muḥammad sent word to Badr al-Kabīr to give a recital behind the curtain. (This she did); but Ja'far said not a thing, so elevated was his magnanimity. Nor did he let any change appear in his manner. Then Muḥammad sent orders that the boat in which Ja'far would travel home be filled with *dirhams*; and into that boat, they say, were loaded two (thousand) purses totalling twenty million *dirhams*. The boatmen were ordered to convey all this (cargo) to Ja'far's house (and so they did). It is said that none of the kings ever paid so high a price for a slave.

Anecdote

[One of the sages was asked,] 'Who among men is worst off?' 'He', replied the sage, 'whose magnanimity is loftiest, whose knowledge is amplest, (whose intelligence is broadest), and whose circumstances are tightest.' Then the sage was asked, 'To whom should such a man have recourse to gain deliverance from his ill-fortune¹ and straitened circumstances?' He replied: 'To kings, to noblemen,² and to those who possess magnanimity.' (There is a saying: 'Have as your neighbour an ocean,³ or a king.') The following story shows this.

Anecdote

Sa'd ibn Salm⁴ al-Bāhili said: 'My circumstances became straitened in the days of Hārūn al-Rashīd.⁵ Manifold debts piled up on me, my creditors pressed me hard, and I was desperate. I went to 'Abd Allāh ibn Mālik al-Khuzā'i and asked him what course to adopt. 'Abd Allāh replied: "Nobody can save you from your predicament except the Barmakids." "Who is there", I asked,

¹ *Nuḥṣat*.

² *Mihtarān*; Ar. (I), *al-akābir*.

³ Not in P. (H). *Baḥr* ('ocean') is used in panegyrics and titles as a symbol of abundant generosity, also of abundant learning.

⁴ P. (H), Sa'd ibn Salm; Ar. (I), Sa'd ibn Muslim; Ar. (H), Sa'd ibn Sālim. Ibn Qutaybah and Jāḥiẓ give the name as Sa'id ibn Salm.

⁵ Thus in Ar. (I) and Ar. (H). P. (H): 'Sa'd . . . said to Hārūn al-Rashīd, "My circumstances have become straitened . . ." According to D. Sourdel, *Le Vizi-rat 'Abbāside*, Damascus, 1959, i, p. 173, n. 2, this story comes in the *Kitāb al-Faraj ba'da'l-Shiddah* of al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994).

"who can endure their pride and arrogance?" "In your own interest", he replied, "it must be endured." Then I went to Faḍl and Ja'far, the sons of Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd al-Barmakī, and told them about my situation. "May God grant you strength", they replied. Then I went back to 'Abd Allāh ibn Mālīk al-Khuzā'i (feeling distressed and downhearted), and related to him what I had heard (from them). "Stay with us today", he said, "so that we may see (together) what God on High has predestined."¹ I stayed there a while, until my page-boy² came and told me, "There are some laden camels at the gate of our palace, and two men with them. People say that they are agents of Faḍl and Ja'far." "I hope that relief has come," said 'Abd Allāh; "arise, go (home) and see what this is." I went (home) and (at my gate) saw a man, who came up to salute me. With him he had a sheet of paper, on which was written: "As soon as you left, I went to the Caliph and told him about your situation. He ordered me to pay you a million *dirhams* from the Public Treasury.³ I said that you [would be paying] this sum to your creditors, so where would you find your living expenses? He then ordered that a further eight hundred thousand *dirhams* be paid to you; and I have sent another million *dirhams* from my private funds, making two million eight hundred thousand *dirhams* in all."

Anecdote

They say that during a convivial entertainment⁴ one of Anūshīr-vān's boon-companions stole a jewel-encrusted wine-cup. Anūshīr-vān saw. The butler⁵ began searching for the cup, and when he could not find it, called out: 'A gold cup with jewels (on it) has been lost. Nobody may depart until it is given back.' Anūshīr-vān said: "The man who stole it will not give it back, and the man who saw who stole it will not tell; so let them go!"

Wherever munificence and magnanimity are to be found, there

¹ *Taqdīr*. Likewise in Ar. (I).

² *Ghulām*; or 'messenger' (probably armed). Cf. p. 22, note 3.

³ *Bayt al-Māl*. Cf. p. 65, note 5. Hārūn's generosity would have been more admirable if he had helped Sa'id from his own, and not from the public, funds.

⁴ *Majlis-i sharāb*; Ar. (I), *majlis al-sharāb*. This story is also told in the *Kitāb al-Tāj*, p. 101, tr. Pellat, pp. 126-7; in the *Uyūn al-Akhbār* of Ibn Qutaybah, Cairo, 1343/1925-1394/1930, i, p. 339; and in the *Kitāb al-Mahāsīn wa'l-Masāwī* of Bayhaqī, ed. F. Schwally, Giessen, 1902, p. 506.

⁵ *Sharāb-dār*; Ar. (I), *al-sharābī*.

also will (noble) origin¹ be present. Ignoble persons² can never conceal their origin, as the following story shows.

Anecdote³

One day during the period after Hārūn al-Rashīd had become ill-disposed towards the Barmakids, he is reported to have summoned Ṣāliḥ and said: 'Go to Manṣūr (ibn Ziyād) and tell him that he owes us ten million *dirhams* and must produce that sum right now. If he does not pay by nightfall, bring me his head. Do not ask for more information (about the matter) than this.' Ṣāliḥ relates: 'I went to Manṣūr and acquainted him with the shape of things. Manṣūr said: "Alas, I am ruined"; and he swore on oath that his entire property and wealth amounted to (only) one hundred thousand *dirhams*. "Whence can I obtain ten times a million *dirhams*?" he asked. Ṣāliḥ said to Manṣūr: 'You must solve your own problems. There is no time for delay. The (Caliphal) edict is as I have informed you.' "Take me to my home", Manṣūr requested Ṣāliḥ, 'so that I may (bid farewell to my family and children and) prepare a will.' Ṣāliḥ went with him and entered the house. Manṣūr prepared a will (making bequests) to the members of his household, who all began to weep and cry, and the noise grew loud. Perceiving this, Ṣāliḥ said to Manṣūr: 'Let us depart and go to the house of Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd. Perhaps relief for you will be found there.' Each then went to the house of Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd. Manṣūr began weeping, and Yaḥyā asked, 'What is the matter with you?' Manṣūr explained the matter to him, and Yaḥyā was grieved and stayed silent a while. Then he looked up and summoned his treasurer. 'How much silver is there in my treasury?' he asked him. 'Five million *dirhams*', the

¹ *Aṣl*. Ar. (I), 'tranquillity and charity'.

² *Mardum-i nā-kas*. Ar. (I), 'Men who repudiate good works, reject gratitude and have no origin (*aṣl*).'

³ Prof. Humā'i states that this story is told in the *Tārīkh-i Barāmīkīh* which was published at Tehran in 1312/1935 by Mirzā 'Abd al-Karīm Khān Gurgānī (b. 1296/1879), and that the story there begins: Abū'l-Qāsim ibn Ghassān, the compiler (*muṣannif*) of the *Akhbār Āl-Barmak*, relates of Ishāq that he... This Ishāq was known as Ṣāliḥ Ṣāhib al-Muṣallā. He said: 'One day Hārūn al-Rashīd summoned me... and said to me, "Go right now and arrest Manṣūr ibn Ziyād."' See also Introduction, p. lviii.

A less detailed version of the story comes in Bayhaqī's *K. al-Mahāsīn wa'l-Masāwī*, ed. Schwally, pp. 543-5. According to Sourdel, *Le Vizir al-'Abbāside*, i, p. 172, n. 4, versions are also found in the *K. al-Wuzarā' wa'l-Kuttāb* of Jahshiyārī (d. 331/942), in the *K. al-Faraj ba'd al-Shiddah* of Tanūkhī, and in the *K. al-Mustajād min Fa'ālāt al-Ajwād* of pseudo-Tanūkhī.

treasurer replied; and Yahyà ordered that it be brought forth. Then he sent a servant to (his son) Faḍl with the following message: 'You told me that you wanted to buy an estate (and would be willing to pay) one million *dirhams*. I have just found a splendid estate. It is in perfect order and has always yielded (good) returns. You must send the money!' Faḍl sent the money. Then Yahyà sent another servant to Ja'far with the following message: 'I have an important enterprise on hand. Please send two million *dirhams*.' Ja'far sent them within the hour. Then Yahyà said, 'See, O Maṣṣūr, we have eight million *dirhams* collected here!' Šāliḥ replied¹ 'I will not take this money unless it is the full amount. I should not dare to go to the Caliph (with less).' Yahyà was downcast, but he looked up again and told a page-boy to go to Danānir. She was a slave-girl whom the Prince of the Believers had presented [to Yahyà]; and the Prince of the Believers had presented to this slave-girl an extremely valuable jewel. 'Go to Danānir', said Yahyà to the page-boy, 'and tell her to send the jewel which was given to her by the Prince of the Believers.' The page-boy went and brought the jewel. Then Yahyà said to Šāliḥ: 'The Prince of the Believers went to great trouble to acquire this jewel. He bought it through the mediation of the merchants for two hundred thousand *dinārs* and afterwards gave it to Danānir (the lute-player). As soon as he sees it, he will recognize it. This will be another two million *dirhams*.' For at that time one *dinār* was worth ten *dirhams*. Then (Yahyà) continued, 'See, here is the full amount of Maṣṣūr's fine!'² Tell the Prince of the Believers to make a gift to us of Maṣṣūr!' Šāliḥ took the money and the jewel to (Hārūn) al-Rashīd. (While he and Maṣṣūr were on the way), Maṣṣūr recited a verse in Arabic, and Šāliḥ heard it and was amazed at its ill nature and indecency. The verse ran as follows:

(You did not heed me because you were bound to me,
but because you feared to be shot by the arrows.)³

¹ Ar. (I): 'Maṣṣūr said to him, "I have clung to your skirt, my lord, and I only recognize this money as your kind favour. Please find the full account of my debt."'

² *Muṣṣādarah*, 'confiscation'. Likewise in Ar. (I). Confiscation of the allegedly ill-gotten fortunes of high officials was an important item in the revenues of Caliphs and Sultāns; see B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, 1952, pp. 322-3.

³ Not fully intelligible in either P. (H) or Ar. (I). Prof. Humā'i quotes similar verses from the *Tāriḫ-i Barāmīkah*, *Kitāb Nawādir al-Kālām*, *Kitāb al-Maḥāsīn wa'l-Masāwī* of Bayhaqī (ed. Schwally, p. 545) and *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*

The meaning of this (in Persian) is: 'He did not show this generosity to me for the sake of friendship, but (because) he feared that I too might shoot my arrow.' Šāliḥ was indignant. He turned to Maṣṣūr and said: 'On the earth's surface today there are none better than the Barmakids and none worse than you. They gave all this money for you and saved your life; but you have shown no gratitude and now you say such words (behind their backs).'

Šāliḥ (further) relates: 'I came into the presence of (Hārūn al-) Rashīd and told him what Yahyà had done. I also repeated to him what Maṣṣūr had said. (Hārūn al-) Rashīd was amazed at Yahyà's munificence and Maṣṣūr's baseness. He ordered that the jewel be returned to Yahyà, saying: 'We do not take back gifts which we have given.' Then Šāliḥ went back to Yahyà and told him about Maṣṣūr. Yahyà answered, 'When men are desperate, resourceless and in dire distress, the things they say do not come from the heart'; and he made various excuses for Maṣṣūr. Tears came to Šāliḥ's eyes, and he said: 'Heaven will not again bring forth any such as you. Alas that a man like you should ever have to pass beneath the ground.'

Anecdote¹

There is said to have been a secret enmity between Yahyà ibn Khālīd al-Barmakī and 'Abd Allāh ibn Mālīk al-Khuzā'i. They did not, however, divulge it. The reason for it was that Hārūn al-Rashīd had taken so great a liking to 'Abd Allāh [that Yahyà] had said to his sons: 'Maybe 'Abd Allāh is casting a spell over the Prince of the Believers.' Time passed, and they kept the bitterness within their hearts, until (Hārūn al-) Rashīd gave the governorship of Armenia to 'Abd Allāh and sent him thither. Now a certain refined and cultured man from 'Irāq, who had fallen upon hard times and into straitened circumstances, bethought himself of a stratagem. He forged a letter from Yahyà ibn Khālīd to 'Abd

of Jahshiyārī; in all of these the first *miṣrā'* varies, but the second contains the words 'you feared' (sing., pl., or dual) and 'the shot of the arrows' (*ḍarb al-nibāl*)—except the *Tāriḫ-i Barāmīkah*, which has *ṣarf al-layālī*, 'the passage of the nights'. Prof. Humā'i observes that in the *Tāriḫ-i Barāmīkah* 'passage of the nights' means in the context 'vicissitudes of time and fate', and he infers that 'shot of the arrows' has a similar meaning. Since the incident took place after Hārūn had formed a grudge against the Barmakids, the thought of blackmail may have been in Maṣṣūr's mind.

¹ A shorter version of this story comes in Bayhaqī's *K. al-Maḥāsīn wa'l-Masāwī*, ed. Schwally, pp. 415-17.

Allāh. About the ill feeling between them he had heard nothing. He journeyed to Armenia, came to the door of 'Abd Allāh's palace, and handed the letter to a chamberlain. The chamberlain gave the letter to 'Abd Allāh, who ordered that the bearer of the letter be brought before him. 'Abd Allāh knew that the letter was forged. When the man had come in and paid his compliments, 'Abd Allāh said to him: 'You have been to great trouble and made a long journey; and you have brought a spurious letter. But keep your nerve! I shall not disappoint you after you have come to me full of hope.' 'May the Amīr's life be long!' replied the man; 'If my coming embarrasses you, do not pretend otherwise; for God's earth is broad, and God on High will provide my daily bread. But this letter which I have brought is not forged.' 'Abd Allāh replied: 'If you are willing, I will adopt (one of) two courses with you. One is that I write to my agent at the court of the Prince of the Believers and tell him to make inquiries about this letter which you have brought. If the letter is found to be genuine, I shall give you a choice. Should you desire the governorship of a city, I will grant one to you; and should you desire a gift, I will present to you two hundred thousand *dirhams* with an appropriate number of horses and their accoutrements.¹ If the letter is forged, I shall order (my men) to give you two hundred strokes of the rod and to shave your beard. Meanwhile I hold you under arrest; I shall order that ample provision be made for your subsistence until the reply to my letter comes. (The other course), if you so desire, (is that) I pardon you.' The man answered, 'I would prefer that you ascertain whether I have brought a genuine letter or not.' Thereupon 'Abd Allāh ordered that the man be detained in a room and provided with whatever he might need. Then 'Abd Allāh wrote a letter to his agent at Baghdād saying: 'A man has come to me bringing a letter initialled by Yahyā ibn Khālid. I suspect this letter. You should investigate (the authenticity of) this letter and report the result (to me).' When 'Abd Allāh's letter reached the agent, he went on horseback to Yahyā ibn Khālid, whom he found among a party of retainers and boon-companions, and gave the letter to him. Yahyā read it and said to the agent, 'Come back (tomorrow) when I shall have written the reply.' Then he turned to his boon-companions

¹ Ar. (I) adds: 'and a robe of honour (*khil'at*) and a ceremonial presentation (*tashrif*)'. A gift of money would be accompanied by a gift of horses to carry the coins away.

and said, 'If a man takes a spurious [letter] from me to my enemy, what should be his punishment?' Each one said something (different) and mentioned some sort of punishment. 'You are all wrong,' said Yahyā; 'your suggestions would be (acts of) meanness and petty-mindedness. You know well on what close and intimate terms 'Abd Allāh ibn Mālik stands with the Prince of the Believers; and you also know that there is enmity between me and him. The devil desired that I should (seek to) cast him down from his rank and office. However, that was not right. It was for this reason that enmity arose between us. Had I known that such an enmity was to arise between us, I would have given a million *dirhams* or more (to prevent it). Now, however, God on High has caused this man (to appear) and made him (the instrument for our) reconciliation. By doing as he has done, (the man) has rid my heart of a twenty-year-old grievance and put me back on good terms with 'Abd Allāh. You should therefore understand that I must fulfil the man's hopes and not deceive the expectations which he has placed in me. I shall write a letter [to 'Abd Allāh] requesting him to treat the man with affection and respect, and to be sure to give him his due.' When (Yahyā's) boon-companions heard these words, they were moved to admiration (of his generosity and magnanimity). Then Yahyā called for paper and ink-well, and wrote (to 'Abd Allāh) in his own hand (the following letter):

'In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful! May He grant you long life!

'Your agent so-and-so, God exalt him, came bringing me your letter. I read it and rejoiced to learn that all is well with you. You suspected the gentleman in question¹ of having committed a forgery. This is to inform you that the letter is mine and is not forged. It is my hope that you will fulfil the gentleman's hopes and exert yourself on his behalf. Be assured that whatever you do for him you will have done for me.'

(Yahyā then addressed and) sealed the letter and gave it to the agent, who dispatched it to 'Abd Allāh. After he had received (and read) it, 'Abd Allāh summoned the man to his presence and asked him, 'Of the two courses which I mentioned to you, which do you prefer?' He replied, 'I would prefer a gift.' 'Abd Allāh then ordered that he be given two hundred thousand *dirhams*, ten Arab horses—(five of them) with saddle-cloths and five with litters,

¹ In *javān-mard*; Ar. (I), *dhālika'l-rajulul-l-hurr*.

twenty wardrobes of clothing, twenty slave-soldiers,¹ and appropriate quantities of rare gifts and fine jewels. Then he sent the man (back to Baghdād accompanied by a trustworthy official).

When the man reached Baghdād, he went to the gateway of Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd's palace and requested an audience. The chamberlain came (to Yaḥyā) and said: 'At the gate is a man (with a magnificent retinue) who has come from a far country. He requests an audience.' Yaḥyā replied, 'Bring him in.' When the man came in, he (kissed the ground before) Yaḥyā, who asked: 'What man are you?' 'I was a man', he answered, 'who had let himself die; but you have restored me to life. For I am he who took your letter to 'Abd Allāh ibn Mālik.' 'What did he do with you?' Yaḥyā asked. 'He showed great kindness', the man answered; 'and whatever he did for me, he did for your sake. I did not see fit to lodge myself anywhere before bringing all these things (which he gave me) first to you, so that you may do whatever you wish with them; for all these things are yours.' 'Good Sir,' replied Yaḥyā, 'to you I owe an immense debt of gratitude for what you have done. Furthermore, I have decided to make you one of my special retainers; and since you have brought these things to me and expressed such gratitude, it will be ungentlemanly if I send you away from my house without myself presenting to you gifts equivalent to those presented by 'Abd Allāh.' Then Yaḥyā ordered that an equivalent sum of money be brought, and this was given to the man.

We have quoted this anecdote so that all who read it may understand that men with magnanimity never stay ruined for long, just as the gentleman who had fallen into straitened circumstances did not stay ruined for long. If he had been a mean-natured man, he would have had recourse to low expedients and mean persons; but since his own magnanimity was of high degree, he took a risk and approached magnanimous gentlemen and munificent noblemen.² The consequence was that his risky venture turned out in accordance with his hopes, and that the two noblemen won good names.

Anecdote

There were two clients,³ one of the Banū Umayyah and one of the Banū Hāshim. (Each) used to boast to the other, 'My master is

¹ *Ghulām*; cf. p. 22, note 3. Ar. (I), *mamālīk rukhāb al-khuyūl*, 'horse-riding slave-soldiers'.

² *Buzurgān*. Ar. (I), 'an eminent man of noble character and pure veins'.

³ *Dū mawlānā*; Ar. (I), 'abdāni, 'two slaves'. The pagan Arab tribes used to

the more gentlemanly.'¹ Then they said, 'Come! Let us put it to the test!' Thereupon the client of the Banū Umayyah went to one of his masters and complained that he was in distress. He was given ten thousand *dirhams*. He went likewise to another, and received ten thousand more *dirhams*, and (so on) until he had gone to ten persons, from each of whom he received ten thousand *dirhams*, making one hundred thousand *dirhams* (altogether). Then he said to the client of the Banū Hāshim: 'From my masters I have received one hundred thousand *dirhams*. Now (it is your turn to) put the matter to the test and see (the result).'² Thereupon the client of the Banū Hāshim went to Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, on whom be peace, and described his circumstances, explaining that he was in distress. Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī³ gave him one hundred thousand *dirhams*. Next he went to 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far,⁴ who likewise gave him one hundred thousand *dirhams*. Next he went to 'Abd Allāh ibn Rabi'ah,⁴ who also gave him one hundred thousand *dirhams*. Then he came back to the client of the Banū Umayyah, bringing with him three hundred thousand *dirhams*. 'Your masters', said the latter, 'have learnt magnanimity from my masters. But come! Let us (now test them again and) return the money to them.' Both then went, taking the money (which had been given to them), and returned it to their respective masters. The client of the Banū Umayyah said to his masters, 'Relief from another quarter has put an end to my want.' They took back the silver (which they had given) and each one of them accepted his share. The client of the Banū Hāshim (likewise) returned the money to them and said, 'Relief from another quarter has put an end to my want.' They answered: 'We do not take back our gifts. If you can do without this silver, give it as alms to one who really needs it.'

Aphorism

A sage: said 'Respect for noblemen⁵ is (a sign of) nobility, and disrespect for people is (a sign of) vulgarity. Magnanimity without adopt members of other tribes or of no tribe, and these adopted sons received the status (somewhat below the pure-born tribesmen) of 'protected persons' (*mawālī*, sing. *mawlā*). In the early days after the Arab conquests, conversion to Islām was only possible through admission into an Arab tribe as a *mawlā*.

¹ *Ḥavān-mard-tar*; Ar. (I), *akram* ('more generous').

² P. (H): 'The Prince of the Believers Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī.' Perhaps a Shi'ite copyist added *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* to the Persian text. The 'Abbāsids were, of course, Hāshimites no less than the 'Alids.

³ Son of 'Alī's brother Ja'far. See Index.

⁴ Likewise in Ar. (I).

⁵ *Buzurgān*; Ar. (I), *al-akābir*.

the means is (a sign) of levity, whereas magnanimity together with fortune yields (fine) results; because the man who possesses magnanimity will incline, when fortune is unfavourable, towards lowness, but will attain, when fortune rises, to magnanimity of the highest order.'

Another saying is that things are needed in (appropriate) quantities: of magnanimity there should be enough to reach Baghdād, (but not when the) provision for the road (is only) enough to last two *farsakhs*.¹

Anecdote

'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Marwān, when he was governor of Egypt, one day went out riding and came to a certain place. A man called out to his son, 'O 'Abd al-'Azīz!' On hearing this, the governor ordered that the man be given one thousand *dirhams* to be used for the benefit of that (boy). The news spread through Egypt,² and during that year everybody to whom a son was born named him 'Abd al-'Azīz.

Anecdote

A similar incident occurred when Tāsh, who was the High Chamberlain³ of the Amīr of Khurāsān, passed one day through (the street of) the money-changers at Bukhārā, and a man called out to his slave whose name was Tāsh. The (High Chamberlain), however, ordered that they be arrested and that their property be confiscated. 'You were trying to ridicule me', he said.

Observe how greatly the Qurayshite nobleman differed from the slave-soldier who had been bought for *dirhams*. On this subject much is told, but if we were to repeat it all, (this chapter) would become too long.

You must, however, understand that although magnanimity may be slow in yielding results, it does in the end cause men to attain their ambitions.

As the poet has said:⁴

¹ See p. 32, note 2.

² Ar. (I): 'through the city of Miṣr' (perhaps Fustāt).

³ *Hājib-i buzurg*; Ar. (I), *al-hājib al-kabir*.

⁴ These verses are metrically sound (*muḍārī'*) but not clearly intelligible, and Prof. Humā'i thinks that several words must be corrupt. *Buzurgvārī*, here translated 'high-mindedness', might mean 'greatness of soul' or 'greatness of rank'.

If I in royal service did not seek (to win my) bread,
I would not wish to pay very much heed to daily bread.
I shall, however, seek to win high-mindedness therein;
I know that I shall win it even though I do not seek.

The most praiseworthy course is that a man should not let his magnanimity outstrip his capacity and strength; for (if he does) he will live in constant worry.¹

¹ Ar. (H) here has the following Arabic verses:

As the poet said: If you were content with sufficiency—none would be destined to live so happily as you. But if one day your ambition should rise beyond this—the whole world and its contents would not suffice you. What use would be your lofty magnanimity—which would not help you to win that which you desired?

CHAPTER V

[CITING APHORISMS OF THE SAGES]¹

Wisdom² is a gift from God on High, who gives it to whom He wills.

(Socrates has said that)³ a man who has been granted wisdom by God but grieves because he lacks wealth is like one who enjoys ease and security but grieves because he lacks grief and hardship; for the fruit of wisdom is ease (and superiority), while the fruit of money is hardship, misfortune and disaster.

(Ibn al-Muqaffa)⁴ has related that one of the kings of India possessed so many books of wisdom that they (had to) be carried on (elephants). He therefore ordered the sages to produce a summary of them, and the sages unanimously summarized them in four words: a word for kings, namely justice; a word for subjects, namely obedience; a word for the body, namely abstinence from food except at times of hunger; and a word for the soul, namely to look only at itself.⁵

(Aphorism)

A sage is reported to have said, 'Men are of four sorts: (i) Those who possess knowledge and know that [they possess it]; from them you should seek to learn. (ii) Those who possess knowledge, but do not know that they possess it; they are forgetful, and you should remind them. (iii) Those who lack knowledge and know that they lack it; they seek guidance, and you should guide them. (iv) Those who lack knowledge and do not know that they lack it; they are ignorant, and you should shun them.'

¹ Ar. (I) and Ar. (H): *Al-bābu'l-khāmisu fī dhikri hukamī'l-hukamā'*. Prof. Humā'i thinks that at some stage in the transmission of the Persian manuscript a copyist must have taken the first aphorism for the chapter heading.

² *Hikmat* (in some contexts translated 'aphorism'). P. (H) attributes this rather trite saying to Socrates, but Ar. (I) and Ar. (H) give no attribution.

³ Thus in Ar. (I) and Ar. (H). P. (H), 'Ibn al-Muqaffa' has said . . .

⁴ Ar. (I) and Ar. (H): 'Ibn al-Muqaffa' has said that . . . P. (H), 'It is related that . . .'

⁵ Likewise in Ar. (I). The point is not clear.

Aphorism

A sage was asked, 'What is nearest?' He answered, '(Life's) term.'¹ 'And what', they went on, 'is farthest?' 'Hope', he answered.

Aḥnaf ibn Qays said: 'Two things cannot be tricked. If an enterprise is heading for success, it cannot be tricked back into failure; and if it is heading for failure, it cannot be tricked forward into success.'

Luqmān (the sage)² said to his son, 'Take care of two things, and do not worry about others: religion for the next world, and *dirhams* for this world.'

Anūshīrvān asked Buzurgmihr, 'Why is it that the friend can be turned into an enemy but the enemy cannot be turned into a friend?' He answered, 'Ruining that which has been developed³ is easier than (re-)developing that which has been ruined; breaking goblets is easier than mending them. (Similarly),' he continued, 'good health is better than drinking medicines, refraining from sin is better than praying for forgiveness, repressing desires is better than suffering remorse, and controlling the lust of the body is better than going to hell.'

A sage in the days of old who had spent several years travelling round the world used to teach people these words: 'Without *knowledge*, a man will have no glory in either world; without *serenity*, no profit from his knowledge; without *piety*, [no honour] in the sight of God on High; [without *patience*, no steadfastness in religion; without *munificence*, no share in (his own) wealth; and without *obedience*, no plea with God.]'⁴

Anecdote

Buzurgmihr was asked, 'What glory is accompanied by humiliation?' He answered: 'The glory which goes with serving Sulṭāns.'⁵

¹ *Ajal*. Cf. Q. xxix. 53; xxxv. 34; and p. 39 above.

² This maxim scarcely conforms with the censure of love of money in Part I, pp. 31-43 above, the 'First' and 'Second Springs'!

³ *Ābādān*; Ar. (I), *al-'āmir*. Cf. p. 37, note 3.

⁴ In Ar. (I) the saying runs: 'Without knowledge, a man will have no glory in this world or the next; without patience, no safety in his religion; if he is ignorant, he will not profit from knowledge; without piety, no honour in the sight of God; without munificence, no share of his (own) wealth; and without good counsel no plea with God.'

⁵ Ar. (I) adds to this: 'and the glory which is accompanied by envy, and the glory which is accompanied by (? meanness).'

Anecdote

Buzurgmihr was asked, 'How can fools be taught sense?' He answered ('By making them work hard so that they have no time for meddling.').¹ 'How can misers be taught sense?' ['By treating them with contempt and scorn, so that they may know their worthlessness.']. 'How can noblemen² be taught sense?' 'By ceasing to meet their demands.'].³ 'And who is a gentleman?'³ 'He who gives and does not mention it.'

Mālik Dīnār⁴ was asked, 'Why do men destroy themselves for the sake of money?' He answered, 'Because they suppose that wealth is better than other things, and do not realize that the things for which wealth is needed are better than wealth.' He was also asked, 'Is there anything dearer than life for which men will fearlessly give their lives?' He answered, 'Three things are dearer than life: religion, spite, and relief from hardship.' Again he was asked, 'How do knowledge, munificence and courage give adornment?' He answered, 'Knowledge gives truthfulness,⁵ munificence gives cheerfulness, and courage gives clemency after victory.'

Aphorism

Yūnān the Dastūr said,⁶ 'Among the worst misfortunes are four things, from which God protect us: having a large family and small means, having a bad neighbour, having an unfaithful wife, and having an unworthy son.'

This world's inhabitants have agreed that worldly activities are of twenty-five kinds.⁷ Five of these are predestined and predetermined, namely desire for: (i) wife; (ii) children; (iii) money; (iv) kingship; (v) life. Five others require effort, namely: (i) knowledge; (ii) writing; (iii) horsemanship; (iv) (entering) paradise; (v) deliver-

¹ From Ar. (I). P. (H), *bi-navākht dāshtan andarūn-i pardah*; meaning not clear.

² Ar. (I), *al-aḥrār*. Or 'free men'.

³ *Javān-mard*; Ar. (I), *al-karīm*.

⁴ See Index. Ar. (I): 'He (i.e. Buzurgmihr) was also asked . . .'

⁵ *Rāstī*; Ar. (I) *al-ṣidq*. Why this should be so is not explained.

⁶ The *Qābūs-nāmah*, tr. Levy, p. 110, attributes a similar saying to Buzurgmihr: 'There are four things which are great misfortunes—a bad neighbour, a large family, a quarrelsome wife, and poverty.'

⁷ Prof. Humā'i points out that the Tehran edition of the *Javāidān Khirad* contains a similar classification into 25 kinds and 5 classes ascribed to 'the sage Ādharbād' and only slightly different in content. The *Javāidān Khirad* was a collection of Sāsānian ethical teachings said to have been translated from Pahlavi by Ḥasan ibn Sahl (brother of Faḍl ibn Sahl, q.v. in Index). See also Introduction, p. lxvi.

ance from hell. Five others depend on temperament, namely: (i) fidelity; (ii) civility; (iii) modesty; (iv) munificence; (v) truthfulness. Five others derive from habit, namely: (i) walking; (ii) eating; (iii) sleeping; (iv) sexual intercourse; (v) urination and defecation. The other five are hereditary, namely: (i) good looks; (ii) good character; (iii) magnanimity; (iv) arrogance; and (v) meanness.

As regards this world's hardships, there are (three) things which intelligent persons must not overlook: (i) the extinction of this world; (ii) the vicissitudes of time; (iii) the cruel blows which time deals; (iv) the fickleness of time.

Aphorism

A sage said, 'Six things would be cheap, even if they cost the world (to buy): wholesome food, healthy children, congenial colleagues, considerate superiors, and perfect speech and intelligence.'

Aphorism

A sage said, 'The most worthless things are (these) five: illuminated lamps in sunshine, rain upon salt-marshes, beautiful wives in the hands of blind husbands, delicious foods (set) before overfed persons, and God's word in (the hearts of) tyrants.'

Question (and Answer)¹

A woman put a question to Buzurgmihr, who replied, 'Right now I do not recall the answer to your question.' 'The king pays you a great deal of money on account of your knowledge', said the woman; 'yet you do not know the answer to my question.' 'I am paid by the king for what I know,' he replied; 'if I were paid for what I do not know, not all the money in the world would suffice.'

Question (and Answer)

Alexander was asked, 'Why do you hold your teacher² in greater honour than your father?' He answered, 'Because my father is the cause of my transient life, while my teacher is the cause of my eternal³ life.'

¹ *Su'āl*. Missing in Ar. (I) and Ar. (H). A somewhat different version in the *Qābūs-nāmah*, tr. Levy, pp. 39-40.

² i.e. Aristotle.

³ *fānī* . . . *bāqī*. The Arabic spellings are identical except for their diacritical points, but the meanings are contrary. Cf. the Arabic pun attributed to Alexander's sages on p. 82, and note 2.

(Alexander also) said: 'If time does not move as you wish, you must move as time wishes; for mankind is the slave¹ of time, but time is [not]² the slave of man. With every breath he breathes, man is nearer to death and farther from life.'

(On another occasion Alexander) said: 'If actions depend on predestination³ by God, it is (? not permissible)⁴ to reduce effort.'

A group of sages are reported to have asked Buzurgmihr to acquaint them with some items of wisdom which would be of benefit both to their bodies and to their souls, so that they might endeavour to act accordingly, and thereby earn good rewards from God on High. He answered: 'You should be aware that four things increase the eye's vision and four things diminish it; [that four things fatten and fructify the body and four things weaken and emaciate it; that four things keep the body whole and four things keep it broken; and that four things enliven the heart and four things deaden it]. The four things which increase the eye's vision are: (i) fresh verdure; (ii) running water; (iii) children;⁵ (iv) seeing friends. The four things which diminish the eye's vision are: (i) eating salty food; (ii) pouring hot water over the head; (iii) looking at the sun's orb; (iv) seeing enemies. The four things which fatten (and fructify) the body are: (i) wearing smooth garments; (ii) living without anxiety; (iii) using fragrant perfumes; (iv) taking siestas. The four things which weaken the body are: (i) eating sun-dried meat;⁶ (ii) overmuch sexual intercourse; (ii) staying too long in hot baths; (iv) going to sleep too early in the evening. The four things which keep the body whole are: (i) taking meals at the proper times; (ii) maintaining the proper proportions in all things; (iii) not working too hard;⁷ (iv) not worrying unnecessarily. The four things

¹ *Bandah*; Ar. (I), '*adūw*, 'enemy', perhaps a copyist's error for '*abd*, 'slave'.

² Inserted by H., missing from his Persian manuscript. Ar. (I), 'Man is the enemy of time and time is the enemy of man'; Ar. (H), 'Man is the slave of time and time is the enemy of man'. ³ *qismat*.

⁴ Assuming *pas kūshish kāstan ravā nist*, which would concur with the sense of the previous saying, namely that man must make an effort to adapt himself to predestined changes in his circumstances. Prof. Humā'i, however, has *ravān ast*, 'it is current', perhaps 'normal' or 'natural'. Ar. (I): 'effort is forbidden and he who renounces it will be thanked (by God).'

⁵ Ar. (I) has instead: 'pure wine'.

⁶ *Gūsh-i qadid*; Ar. (I), *al-laḥm al-qadid*. Cf. Ibn Qutaybah, '*Uyūn al-Akhbār*, Cairo, 1343/1925-1348/1930, iii, p. 271: 'It is said that four qualities destroy life and often kill—entering hot baths with the stomach full, excessive sexual intercourse, eating dry sun-dried meat (*al-qadid al-jāff*), and drinking cold water first thing in the morning.'

⁷ Ar. (I): 'avoiding burdensome activities.'

which keep the body broken are: (i) walking in uncomfortable shoes; (ii) travelling over rough roads; (iii) riding frisky horses; (iv) sexual intercourse with old women. The four things which enliven the heart are:¹ (i) adequate intelligence; (ii) trustworthy partners; (iii) congenial wives; (iv) agreeable and helpful friends. The four things which deaden the heart are: (i) freezing cold; (ii) simoom heat; (iii) acrid and unpleasant smoke; (iv) being afraid [to speak].²

Aphorism

Socrates the sage said: 'Five things destroy men: cheating friends, ignoring scholars, holding a low opinion of one's self, acquiescing in boasts by unworthy persons, and following the whims of the heart.'

(Aphorism)

[Hippocrates has said:]³ 'Five things can never have enough of five things: (i) eyes of seeing; (ii) females of males; (iii) fire of faggots; (iv) earth of rain;⁴ (v) scholars of knowledge.'

A sage was asked, '[What are] the bitterest things in the world [and what are the sweetest?]' He answered, 'The bitterest things are hearing harsh (words) from unworthy persons, becoming indebted, and (falling into) distress; the sweetest things are (having) children, (hearing) nice words, and being comfortably off.'⁵

Aphorism

A sage was asked, 'What is wealth?' 'Contentment', he answered. Then he was asked, 'What is love?' 'Soul-sickness and reluctance to die', he answered.

Aristotle [was asked], 'Which friend is most faithful and which companion is most affectionate?' He answered, 'The noble friend (is most faithful and the old friend is most affectionate); but it is best to plan (one's) affairs with intelligent persons.'

¹ P. (H), Ar. (I), and Ar. (H) add to the list 'learned teachers', which raises the items to five.

² *Bīm-i sukhan*, corrected by H. from *bīm-i dushman*, 'fear of the enemy'; Ar. (I) and Ar. (H) also have 'fear of the enemy'.

³ Thus also in Ar. (I).

⁴ Ar. (I), 'ears of news'.

⁵ Ar. (I) here has an aphorism: A sage was asked, 'What is death and what is sleep?' He answered, 'Sleep is light death and death is heavy sleep.'

Aphorism

Galen the sage said that forgetfulness is brought about by seven things: (i) hearing kind¹ words without engraving them on the heart; (ii) cupping on the vertebrae of the neck; (iii) urinating into stagnant water;² (iv) eating too much sour food; (v) seeing a dead man's face; (vi) sleeping too much; (vii) looking too much at ruins.

Galen has also said, in the Book of Remedies,³ that forgetfulness is a phenomenon which springs from seven things: (i) phlegm;⁴ (ii) laughter accompanied by loud guffawing; (iii) eating salty foods; (iv) eating fat meat; (v) too much sexual intercourse; (vi) exhaustion through lack of sleep; (vii) eating (various) cold and moist substances which are harmful and induce forgetfulness.

Aphorism

Abū'l-Qāsim⁵ the sage has said: 'Throughout the ages, anarchy has been caused by three sorts of person: news-tellers, news-seekers, and news-receivers. News-tellers and news-seekers are not free from sin, and news-receivers are seldom free from reproach.'

Aphorism

A sage has said, 'Three things accord ill with three things: eating [permitted foods]⁶ with gratifying the appetite; showing kindness with venting anger; speaking truthfully with speaking too much.'

Admonition

Buzurgmihr has said: 'If you wish to become one of the saints,⁷ change your character into the character of children.' 'Why?', he was asked. 'Children have five qualities,' he answered; 'and if adults had these same qualities, they would attain the rank of saints: (i) they do not worry about their daily bread;⁸ (ii) when

¹ *Sukhan-i nikū*; but Ar. (I) *al-kalām al-khashin*, 'rough words'.

² Thus also in Ar. (I). The connexion with forgetfulness is obscure.

³ *Kitāb-i Adwiyah*; Ar. (I), *Kitāb al-Adwiyah*. See Introduction, p. lxxiii.

⁴ *Balgham*; also in Ar. (I). ⁵ See Index. P. (H): Abū'l-Qasam.

⁶ Ar. (I) also, *akl al-ḥalāl*; i.e. permitted by Islām. Again no apparent connexion.

⁷ *Abdāl*, 'substitutes' (sing. of Ar. *badal*). Used in Ṣūfī language for a saint (*walī*) of the sixth grade, coming after the *ghawth*, *quṭb*, *nuqabā'*, *awṭād*, and *abrār*, and before the *akhyār*. Such terminology is incongruous on the lips of Buzurgmihr. Perhaps the story is of Christian origin, echoing *Matthew* xix. 14.

⁸ *rizq*.

they fall sick, they do not complain night and day about God on High; (iii) however nice any food (they have), they share in eating it; (iv) however much they fight and quarrel together, they do not keep grudges in the heart but (always) make it up quickly; (v) the slightest threat makes them frightened and brings tears to their eyes.'

Aphorism

Wahb ibn Munabbih said: 'At the beginning of the Torah are written four sentences.¹ (They are:) Every tax-gatherer² who is not pious is the same as a thief, [and every man who lacks intelligence is the same as a beast.]'

Aphorism

A sage said: 'The essence of greatness is taking pains, and the essence of error is haste. The essence of depravity is miserliness.'

Aphorism³

A sage said, 'You should look at [three things] with three eyes: (i) at poor men with the eye of humility, not with the eye of arrogance; (ii) at rich men [with the eye of counsel], not with the eye of envy; (iii) at women with the eye of compassion, not with the eye of desire.'

Aphorism

Wahb ibn Munabbih has said: 'In the Torah I read that three things are mothers of sins, namely arrogance, greed, and envy, and that five others are their children, namely over-eating, over-sleeping, bodily comfort, love of this world, and praise of mankind.'⁴ He also said, 'Whoever is saved from three things will go to Paradise, (and they are:) gratitude, sustenance, and blame.'⁵ One ought not to claim gratitude for kindnesses (done to other men); [one ought to reduce (the extent to which) one is sustained by (other) men]; and one ought not to blame [other men's faults.]'

¹ Ar. (I), 'In the Torah are written four sentences'. But only two are given.

² *Āmil*; see p. 15, note 4. Ar. (I) has *ālim* ('scholar').

³ From this point to the end of the chapter, the order of the various aphorisms, &c., differs between P. (H) and Ar. (I). P. (H)'s order is followed here.

⁴ *Sitāyish-i khalq*. Ar. (I) has *madḥ al-misā'*, 'praise of women'. *Khalq* might be a copyist's error for *zanān*.

⁵ *Minnat u mu'nat u malāmat*. Presumably the main point is the Arabic alliteration; if so, the saying is unlikely to be of Jewish origin.

Admonition

Aḥnaf ibn Qays has said:¹ 'Kings have no friends, liars receive no loyalty, jealous men have no peace (of mind), mean men have no chivalry, and immoral men have no greatness.'

(Aphorism)

Dhū'l-Riyāsatayn² has related that a man complained to Alexander of (another) man. Alexander asked, 'Do you wish me to hear what you have to say against him? (It will be) on condition that I also hear what he has to say against you.' The man was afraid. Then Alexander said, 'Depart, and control your spite against (other) men if you wish to escape (other) men's criticisms.'

Aphorism

Buzurgmihr has said, 'Sound (health) consists of four things: soundness of religion, soundness of body, soundness of property, and soundness of family. Soundness of religion consists of three things: (i) not following the passions; (ii) obeying the commands of (God's) law; (iii) not tricking people. Soundness of body consists of three things: eating little, sleeping little, and speaking little. Soundness of property consists of three things: (i) avoiding stinginess; (ii) depositing (money with others); (iii) spending (money) rightly. Soundness of family consists of three things: (i) living contentedly; (ii) mutual support; (iii) unanimous obedience to God on High.'

Ḥāṭim al-Aṣamm was asked, 'Why do not we find that which the men of old found?' [He answered]: 'Because five things have passed you by: (i) wise counsellors; (ii) helpful friends; (iii) unremitting effort; (iv) legitimate profit-earning; (v) a blessed epoch.'³

It is reported in the Traditions⁴ that God's Apostle said (to 'Alī): 'O 'Alī, turn your face to me and empty your ears and heart; eat, dress, give, collect and hold fast!' 'O Apostle of God,' asked 'Alī, 'what do these words mean?' 'O 'Alī,' answered God's Apostle, 'swallow your anger, cover up your brother's short-

¹ Quoted also by Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn al-Akḥbār*, ii, p. 10.

² Title of Ma'mūn's *wazīr* Faḍl ibn Sahl (q.v. in Index). A shorter version, without mention of Dhū'l-Riyāsatayn, comes in *'Uyūn al-Akḥbār*, ii, p. 24.

³ *Zamānah-yi mubārak*. Ar. (I), *al-zaman al-mubārak*. Cf. p. 88 and p. 93 above.

⁴ *Khabar*. See Introduction, p. lvii.

comings, forgive unjust men's crimes, collect (yourself) for the tight, dark tomb, and hold fast to the religion of Islām.'

Admonition

A sage was asked to give a word of counsel and said: 'Observe His decree, seek His pleasure, and avoid His wrath.'¹

A sage was asked, 'What things among men are greatest?' He answered: 'Thorough planning² and knowledge.' He also said, '(God's) slaves covet all things except three: (i) they do not covet poverty, because all mankind seeks wealth; (ii) they do not covet sorrow, because all human beings seek happiness; (iii) they do not covet death, because all men seek life.'

Aphorism³

Luqmān the sage has said: 'Any man who despises three persons will miss three things: a man who despises Sultāns will miss this world; a man who despises scholars will miss the next world; and a man who despises neighbours will miss prosperity.'

Aphorism

Disaster comes to mankind from three sorts (of persons): misleading scholars, stupid (Qur'ān-)readers, and spiteful proletarians.⁴

It has been said, 'Do not expect honesty from men of ambition, and do not demand fidelity from men of low birth.'

[A sage has said, 'Two things are uncommon in this epoch: religion and poverty.']

A sage said, 'If you can keep four things, you will be a man (indeed): (i) keep your secret such that if people should find it out you would be at ease; (ii) keep your outward bearing such that if people should copy it you would be at ease; (iii) keep your treatment of (other) people such that if they should treat you likewise you would be at ease; (iv) keep your attitude towards (other) men such as you would view with approval on the part of another person towards you.'

¹ *qaḍā, riḍā, jafā*. Likewise in Ar. (I).

² *Tadbīr*. Ar. (I), 'abundant planning; its value does not vary with its abundance, and the need for it never ceases'.

³ Missing in Ar. (I) and Ar. (H), which here have an aphorism lacking in P. (H): Abū'l-Qāsim the sage said, 'There is perdition for (God's) slaves in two things: individualism in (forming) opinions (i.e. religious opinions) and rebellion (or sin) by the masses. Individualism in opinions (is found) among Qur'ān readers.' Cf. p. 59, note 5.

⁴ *Awāmm*.

Aphorism

Ardashīr said: 'Beware of the honourable man when he is hungry and of the dishonourable man¹ when he has had enough.'

Ibn al-Qirriyah² is reported to have come into the presence of Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf. He was one of the (great saints)³ of the time and excelled in learning and culture. 'What is unbelief?' Hajjāj asked him. ['Intoxication with (worldly) wealth and despair of (God's) mercy.'] 'What is satisfaction?' 'Willing acceptance of what God gives and willing endurance of that which is disagreeable.' 'What is patience?' 'Repressing anger and bearing disappointment.' 'What is serenity?' 'Readiness to forgive after gaining power, and to be appeased after being angered.' 'What is honour?' 'Keeping friends and fulfilling duties to them.' 'What is contentment?' 'Preferring to eat little and wear little.' 'What is wealth?' 'Holding the small to be great and the little to be much.' 'What is kindness?' 'Achieving great things with small tools.' 'What is dignity?' 'Keeping control of your subordinates.' 'What is courage?' 'Being resolute⁴ in the face of the enemy and stopping others from fleeing.' 'What is intelligence?' 'Being truthful and eager to please this world's inhabitants.' 'What is justice?' 'Not seeking to gratify the heart's desires, but speaking truthfully.'⁵ 'What is equity?' 'Impartiality in law-suits.' 'What is humiliation?' ('Sickness from empty-headedness and defeat from lack of means.') 'What is greed?' 'Satisfying desire instead of having hope.'⁶ 'What is honesty?' ['Fulfilling obligations.'] ['What is treachery?'] 'Acting slackly (when) in (possession of) power.' 'What is (understanding?)' 'Meditation, and seeing far into things.'

(Aphorism)

Eight sorts of men meet with humiliation: (i) those who sit uninvited at someone's table; (ii) those who give orders to the

¹ *Karīm*; *la'im*. This saying, in Arabic with the same two rhyming words, appears without attribution in Ibn al-Muqaffa's *al-Ādāb al-Kabīr*, in M. Kurd 'Alī ed., *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā*, 3rd ed., Cairo, 1365/1946, pp. 52-53. Ar. (I) does not have this item.

² Thus in Ar. (I); see Index. P. (H), *Ibn al-qurbah*.

³ Reading *buzurgān* for P. (H) *bāzargānān*, 'merchants'. Ar. (I): *al-akābir*, possibly 'noblemen', but here probably 'saints'.

⁴ Ar. (I), 'attacking in the face of enemies and unbelievers'.

⁵ Ar. (I), 'correctness of character and (religious) beliefs'.

⁶ Probably hope that God will provide. Ar. (I), keenness of desire'.

master of the house; (iii) those who hope for favours from the enemies (of the master of the house); (iv) those who hope for profit from (eavesdropping) someone's conversation; (v) those who hold the Sultān in contempt; (vi) those who sit (in places) above their rank; (vii) those who [speak words] to somebody which they would not hear from him; (viii) those who make friends with unworthy persons.

Question (and Answer)

Buzurgmihr was asked: 'What things, even if true, ought not to be told, because (telling them) would be vile?' 'Things in praise of one's self', he answered.

Admonition

You will never find misers praiseworthy, angry men happy, intelligent men greedy, honourable men envious, (despairing) men rich, or kings possessing friends.

Aphorism

Five men will be sorry for five things: (i) the lazy man, when he misses opportunities; (ii) the man who has cut himself off from his brethren, when hardship overtakes him; (iii) the man who, having got the upper hand over an enemy, shows himself incapable (of taking action); (iv) the man who has put away a good wife, when he is plagued by a bad wife; (v) the good man, when he ceases to fear (committing) sins.¹

A sage said: 'The public rebuke is better than the secret grievance.'

Aphorism

Buzurgmihr has said that men who grieve and worry are of three kinds: the friend who is separated from his friend; the affectionate father who loses touch with his child; and the rich man who becomes poor.²

¹ Ar. (I) here has an aphorism, based on an Arabic pun, which is missing in P. (H): Buzurgmihr was asked, 'Does money upset the hearts (*yaqlibu* . . . *qulūb*) of learned men?' He answered, 'Men whose hearts are changed by money are not learned.'

² From this point to the beginning of the aphorism of Luqmān, a page was lost in Prof. Humā'i's manuscript. The following items are taken from Ar. (I); similar items appear in Ar. (H).

(Aphorism)

(A sage said, 'Five men hold money dearer than their own selves and souls: mercenary fighters, diggers of wells and irrigation tunnels,¹ men who voyage by sea to do trade, and snake-charmers who catch snakes with their hands and eat the poison for bets.')

(Aphorism)

('Amr ibn Ma'dikarib said: 'Gentle words soften hearts harder than rocks, and rough words harden hearts softer than silk.')

(Aphorism)

(A sage said: 'Grief is a disease of the soul, just as pain is a disease of the body. Joy is nourishment of the soul, just as food is nourishment of the body.')

(A sage asked a man to lend him a (*dinār*). He did not, and the sage said (to him): 'The only thing that has stopped you is that I once blushed from embarrassment. Had you given it to me, I should have paled, not once, but a thousand times, from your demanding (repayment).')

(Aphorism)

(A sage said: 'The man who sows when his soil is wet will be worth nothing.'²)

(He also said: 'Men who lack pith and weightiness will be trees which bear no fruit'; 'Men who unsheathe the sword of oppression will kill themselves with it'; 'Men who do not do justice to themselves will not be free from remorse'; 'If men open their hands to give generously, their faces will shine luminously'; 'Men who do not guard against their faults become attached to them'; 'Youth is the foster-brother of madness, and grey hair is the spouse of compromise and tranquillity'; 'Let your provision for the journey be pure from sin, and let no contrary (inducements) deter you.')

Aphorism

Luqmān the Sage was walking along a road when he saw a man clad in sack-cloth. 'Who are you?' he asked him. 'One of Adam's breed', he answered. 'What is your name?' he asked. 'Whatever people call me', he answered. 'What do you work at?' he asked.

¹ See p. 114, note 1.

² Thus in Ar. (H). Ar. (I) has 'The man who misdirects his wisdom is worth nothing.'

'At being inoffensive', he answered. 'What do you eat?' he asked. 'What (God) gives', he answered. 'Happy are you', he said. 'What has restrained you from the same happiness?'¹ he asked.

(Aphorism)

A sage said, 'Three things remove sorrow from the heart: (i) conversation with a scholar; (ii) repayment of a debt; (iii) the sight of a friend's face.'

(The same sage) also said, 'Two things augment sorrow in the heart: (i) hoping (for generosity) from ignoble persons; (ii) joking with low-minded persons.'

A sage has said, 'Avoid four things to escape four things: being envious, lest you be sorry; keeping company with bad friends, lest you incur censure; disobeying God, lest you suffer torment; and amassing wealth, lest you come to hate people and to be hated by them.'

Moreover, a sage has said: 'Four things are so bad that people who do them incur condign punishment in both this world and the next; and² if the punishment does not come to them in this world, it comes to their children. (They are:) (i) slandering people behind their backs—there is a saying "backbiting is a rider who is soon overtaken"; (ii) contempt for scholars—there is a saying, "He who despises scholars himself becomes despicable"; (iii) ingratitude for God's gifts; (iv) shedding blood without just cause—whether by Sultāns or by subjects.

(The sages and saints³ had an ancient proverb: 'Every killer will (himself) be killed.')

Verses⁴

Once Jesus saw, left lying on a road
the body of a man who had been killed.

¹ Ar. (I): He (Luqmān) said, 'Who restrains me from this happiness?'

² Sentence missing in Ar. (I).

³ *Al-ḥukamā' wa'l-akābir*. From Ar. (I). This proverb is missing in P. (H), but evidently forms the text to be illustrated by the Persian verses which follow.

⁴ Prof. Humā'i states that these verses have been attributed to Naṣīr-i Khusraw, but considers the attribution doubtful. He points out that in Asadi's Lexicon (*Lughat-i Furs*—cf. Browne, *Lit. Hist.* ii, pp. 273-4) there appears under the heading *charkhusht* ('wine-press') another distich (in the same metre) which is attributed to Rūdākī:

This sword has not for tyrants' use been made;
grapes in the wine press are not there for juice.

He was aghast at what he saw, and caught
 the tip of his forefinger with his teeth;
 Then, speaking to the dead man, said these words:
 '[Whom] did you kill that you should have been killed?
 The time will come at last when he who was
 today your killer will himself be killed.'

(*Nabīdh*, 'juice', though used as a euphemism for 'wine', meant in earlier times 'non-alcoholic grape-juice'.)

Prof. Humā'i thinks it probable that the above verses about Jesus are by Rūdakī and come from the same poem as the verse attributed to him by Asadī.

The Arabic version printed at Cairo has at this point some cognate verses quoted by Prof. Humā'i:

If your hand has skill with the blade to kill people, remember the right path. Jesus saw a man who had been killed on a road. He bit his finger-tips a long time, then said, 'Whom have you killed? We shall see you when at last you come, just as I see a slain man cast (on the road). Your killer who caught you will also taste being killed; so the lamentation will long continue.'

CHAPTER VI

ON INTELLIGENCE AND INTELLIGENT PERSONS¹

It is reported in the Traditions² that God on High created intelligence in the best (possible) form, and said to it 'Go' and it went. Again he said to it 'Come' and it came. Then He said: 'In (all) the universe I have created nothing better and finer than you. To you I shall give the rewarding and the punishing of all My creatures.' The correctness of this report is proved by the fact that God on High has legislated for His slaves in two ways, namely through commands and prohibitions, and that both depend on intelligence.³ As He Himself said in His incontrovertible revelation (Q. v. 100): 'So fear God, O possessors of brains.' Possessors of brains are possessors of intelligence and intelligence in Arabic is called '*aql*', and '*aql* is derived from (*ma'qil*); a refuge situated on top of a hill to which no (enemy's) hand can reach is called a (*ma'qil*).⁴

(*Aphorism*)⁵

Some men from Pārs were asked, 'Why is intelligence called *khīrad*?' They answered, 'Because intelligent men *buy* it from both worlds.'

Anecdote

The Prophet,⁶ God bless him, stated: 'The intelligent man has four marks by which he can be recognized: (i) he overlooks

¹ Ar. (I), *Al-Bāb al-Sādis fi'l-'Aql wa'l-'Uqalā*. P. (H), *Dar Şifat-i Khīrad gūyad*. *Khīrad*, Ar. '*aql*', is translated 'intelligence' rather than 'reason'. See Introduction, p. xxxiv and p. xlviii.

² *Khabar*. See Introduction, p. lvii. Not in Ar. (I).

³ i.e. 'real' intelligence means obeying God's revealed commands despite any contrary appearances.

⁴ P. (H) '*iqāl*', 'camel-shackle' or 'head-band'; but Prof. Humā'i presumes this to be an error for *ma'qil* as in Ar. (H). Ar. (I): '*Aql* is derived from *al-'iqāl wa'l-ma'qil al-manī*' (the strong refuge) which no man's hand can touch because of its impregnability, strength and solidity.'

⁵ Not in Ar. (I) and Ar. (H). A pun on Persian *khīrad*, 'intelligence', and *ba-kharand*, 'they buy'.

⁶ Ar. (I) and Ar. (H) attribute this saying, not to the Prophet, but to *hakīm al-Furs*, 'a sage of the (ancient) Persians'.

the offences of persons who have wronged him; (ii) he treats lesser men humbly; (iii) he outstrips higher-placed men in good works; (iv) he always remembers God, (always) speaks with knowledge, and (always) realizes the utility of speech and the time and place for it. When hardship befalls him, he stretches out his hand to God. The unintelligent man likewise has distinguishing marks: he wrongs people, ill-treats the humble, claims superiority over the great, speaks without knowledge, (and mistakenly stays silent). When hardship befalls him, he destroys himself; and when he sees good works, he turns away his face.'

Aphorism

Sa'īd ibn Jubayr has said: 'I never saw a finer garment on any person than intelligence. If a man is broken, it mends him; if he is disgraced, it strengthens him; if he falls into an abyss, it pulls him out; and if he becomes poor, it gives him wealth.'

The first thing that intelligent men need is knowledge coupled with intelligence, as an event in the reign of Ma'mūn has shown.

(Anecdote)

None of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs is reported to have been so learned in every branch of knowledge as Ma'mūn. On two days in every week he used to hold debates in which jurists, prayer-leaders and theologians joined. One day a black man¹ dressed in tattered clothes walked into Ma'mūn's audience chamber and sat down in an inconspicuous place at the back of the company. It was customary, when the topic for discussion was propounded, to pass it round the company so that any person who had more (than ordinary) knowledge might speak. They accordingly passed the topic round until it reached the stranger; and he gave the best of all the answers. Ma'mūn was pleased and ordered that he be seated higher up than he had been. When they came to the second topic, he likewise gave the best of all the answers; and Ma'mūn ordered that he be seated in an even higher place. On the third (topic), also, he again gave the best of all the answers; and Ma'mūn ordered that he be seated close to him. When the debate ended, water was brought and they washed their hands and ate bread. Then the jurists and theologians dispersed; but Ma'mūn (summoned) the man and bade him be seated, and a banquet was served. When the man's turn to take

¹ Ar. (I), 'a strange man'.

wine came, he rose and said: 'The Prince of the Believers has seen and taken note that I his slave was unknown to the company at the conference. It was the Prince of the Believers himself who elevated me to this illustrious position, out of regard for a small stock of intelligence bestowed on me by Almighty God. After having honoured and flattered me (so much), does he now command this? I do not reproach the Prince of the Believers for having elevated intelligence to this position; but if I were to drink wine, the intelligence would quit me and discourtesy might issue from me. I should then become a disgrace to the company of the Prince of the Believers and look contemptible in the eyes of the courtiers. It is to be expected, however, that he will decide on the right course and refrain from depriving and dispossessing me of this precious jewel; if so, it will be (an example of) lordly grace and generosity.' When Ma'mūn heard these words, he was pleased and bade the man be seated. Then he ordered that he be given one hundred thousand *dirhams* from the treasury, together with horses, robes and splendid ornaments; and at every audience at which there was debating, he placed the man in a higher position, until he came to be above all the others.

We have related this story for the purpose of demonstrating that persons who achieve high positions do so by means of intelligence, knowledge and courtesy.

Anecdote

One day a man came to the gate of Maṣṣūr Abū Dawānīq's palace and said to the chamberlain, 'Inform the Prince of the Believers that from Syria has come a man named 'Āṣim who says: "In bygone days the Prince of the Believers and I were together (studying) for approximately one year. Now I wish to offer my greetings."' He was brought in, and after he had offered his greetings, (the Caliph) questioned him and bade him be seated. Abū Dawānīq was troubled in heart by the man's discourtesy and asked, 'What request have you come to make?' He answered, '(I have come) to see the Prince of the Believers in view of our old companionship.' (Abū Dawānīq) ordered that the man be given a thousand *dirhams*, and he (took them and) departed. A year later he returned, at a time when the Caliph had lost a son and was in mourning. 'What request have you come to make?' the Caliph asked him. 'I am the man', he answered, 'who shared with you in

your studies in Syria. I have come to fulfil the duty of (condolence in) bereavement.' (Abū Dawānīq) ordered that the man be given five hundred *dirhams*; for he was niggardly in making gifts. None of the 'Abbāsids was such a miser as he, and for that reason he was nicknamed Abū Dawānīq.¹ The man departed, but returned a year later; and although he could not find another pretext, he got in while an audience was being held and sat down in front of the Caliph. 'What request have you come to make?' the Caliph asked him. 'O Prince of the Believers,' he answered, 'I am the man who used to (hear and) write down Traditions (of the Prophet) with you at Damascus. We wrote down a certain invocation² (in response to) which, when any man recites it, whatever request he makes is granted. I recently mislaid that invocation, and I have come to get (a copy of) it from the Prince of the Believers.' 'Do not trouble yourself', the Caliph answered; 'I was the first (of us to use) this invocation of which you speak. I have recited it (for three years past) in the hope that God on High might rid me of you; and if it were acceptable (to God), I should be rid of you.'

We have related this story to (demonstrate) that however much knowledge men may possess, they will not attain dignity and rank unless they also possess intelligence.

(Anecdote)

During the same period a man from Madīnah is reported to have come to Abū Ja'far (al-Manṣūr) because he had been friendly with him in bygone days. After Abū Ja'far had acceded to the Caliphate, the man was admitted to his presence. When Abū Ja'far saw him, he recognized him and spoke kindly to him; and (thereafter) he summoned him frequently and treated him as a close (friend). (The man) possessed intelligence but not knowledge. ['O Prince of the Believers,' he said, 'I am your devoted friend and obedient servant; but I am not qualified to keep company with kings and am not worthy to serve rulers. Advise how I may visit you without committing any breach of etiquette.']³ 'Put longer intervals between your visits', Abū Ja'far replied, 'so that, by not coming, you will have left a blank in my mind, but⁴ that when I see you,

¹ See p. 119, note 4.

² *Du'ā'*; Ar. (I), *du'ā' al-ḥājah*.

³ *Adab*.

⁴ Prof. Humā'i, following Ar. (H), has here inserted *nah*; 'not so that, when I see you, I shall remember those bygone days'. But Ar. (I) has: 'so that if you are

I shall remember those bygone days. Seat yourself at a distance from me, so that the chamberlain may conduct you to a higher position. Do not stay seated too long, for that is discourteous. Do not make requests, lest you vex me; but when I show kindness to you, make known your gratitude wherever (you go), so that I may hear and be pleased and then order further kindnesses for you. Never mention the conversations which have passed (between us).' The man accepted these words (of advice). (Thenceforward) he went twice a year to offer his greetings to the Caliph, who on each occasion would give him two thousand *dirhams*.

We have related this story (to demonstrate) that persons who possess intelligence but not knowledge are guided by their intelligence to knowledge, whereas persons who have a share of knowledge [but no share of intelligence see all their actions frustrated]. [If any man had a full] share of [both knowledge and] intelligence, he would be unique in the world like a prophet, *imām* or sage. Human goodness, glory, dignity and well-being in this world and the next are all derived from intelligence, (as the poet has said):

Intelligence gives worth and rank to men;
intelligence conveys men to the moon.
Intelligence can wash men's sins away;
intelligence gives thrones and crowns¹ to men.

Intelligence is the beginning of faith, middle of faith, and end of faith.² The intelligent man³ is not one who, having fallen into a difficulty, strives to get out of it (as best he can), but (one who strives) to avoid falling into situations in which he may meet with trouble or suffer vexation.

Admonition

King Parvīz said to his son:⁴ 'Take care of the subjects, and intelligence will then take care of you. Safeguard the subjects from disaster, and intelligence will then safeguard you from disaster. Understand that you are a judge of men and that intelligence is

absent in it (i.e. the interval), I shall not forget you, and when you come, I shall not be bored with you and my fondness for you will continue increasing.'

¹ *Kulāh*, 'cap'. See p. 64, note 1.

² *Imān*, i.e. correct religious faith.

³ Ar. (I) attributes this saying to 'one of the ancients' (i.e. Persians).

⁴ See Introduction, p. lxxv.

your judge. In like manner it is self-evident that people will not listen to (orders from) you unless you listen to (orders from) intelligence.'

Aphorism

Yūnān the Dastūr wrote a letter to Anūshīrvān and included in it a message about intelligence. When Anūshīrvān heard it, he expressed approval and ordered the following reply (to be sent): 'O sage, you did well to include the message about intelligence. We and our predecessors alike have all been adorned with intelligence; so how could I oppose intelligence?'

You should understand that the intelligent man is the nearest of men to God on High, and that intelligence like the sun illuminates the world. It is good in all men, and best (of all) in men of high rank.¹

Anūshīrvān has said, 'How could I reject intelligence and not do what it commands? For kings and non-kings there is nothing better than intelligence. By its light the ugly is distinguishable from the beautiful, the good from the bad, and the false from the true. Nothing can be distinguished [without the help of intelligence.]'

Aphorism

Buzurgmihr has said, 'Two things cannot be found in perfect form among humans: (i) intelligence; (ii) courage.'

Aphorism

Luqmān the sage has said, 'Although men may be knowing, their knowledge is useless to them unless it is accompanied by intelligence.'²

¹ *Mihitarān*; Ar. (I), *al-akābir wa'l-zu'amā'*. Ar. (I) and Ar. (H) continue this passage with the following long simile: 'Intelligence in the human body is like the sap in a tree, because as long as the tree is fresh and moist, people derive pleasure, bliss, relaxation and joy from the fragrance of its scent, burgeoning of its flowers, sweetness of its fruits and sight of its appearance and freshness; but when its sap goes dry and its vigour wanes, it is fit only to be uprooted and burnt or cut up. Man is the same. As long as his intelligence is strong and his body sound, companionship with him will be blessed and contact with him agreeable; but if his intelligence ceases and ignorance overcomes him, he will then be unfit for life and only death will shield him.'

² Ar. (H) here has the following aphorism: Anūshīrvān asked Buzurgmihr, 'Whom would you wish to be the most intelligent of men?' He answered, 'The enemy'. 'Why?' (Anūshīrvān) asked. He answered, 'Because if the enemy were intelligent, he would deserve to be saved from his wickedness.' Not in P. (H) or Ar. (I).

Aphorism

Anūshīrvān said to Buzurgmihr, 'Everything that becomes abundant becomes cheap, with the exception of intelligence; the more one possesses of that, the dearer it becomes.'

Aphorism

Buzurgmihr was asked,¹ 'What thing is there which men cannot dispense with?' He answered, 'Intelligence'. Then he was asked, 'What amount ought a person to have?' (He answered, 'Nothing is perfect in any person; so how can the amount be known?') 'All things² need intelligence, and intelligence needs testing in practice. No riches are so costly as intelligence, and no poverty is so harsh as ignorance. The more knowledge a person has, the greater is (his need of) intelligence. [A learned man with scant intelligence] resembles a weak shepherd with a large flock.'

Aphorism

Scholars have said, 'Intelligence is a prince whose armies are discernment, understanding, memory and reflection. The happiness of the soul depends upon intelligence just as the stamina of the body depends upon intelligence. The soul is a lamp and intelligence is its light, which spreads all through the body; the intelligent man is not gloomy, because he never does deeds which might cast the gloom (of grief) over him, and he does not grieve over things which ought not to be grieved over.'

Question (and Answer)

Ibn 'Abbās was asked, 'Is intelligence or courtesy³ best?' 'Intelligence,' he answered; 'because intelligence comes from God on High, whereas courtesy is a (self-imposed) obligation⁴ of His slaves.'

Anecdote

'Abd Allāh ibn Mubārak was asked, 'What is intelligence and what are the qualities of the intelligent man?' He answered, 'Intelligence is learning knowledge (and acting with knowledge). Now

¹ Ar. (I): 'Anūshīrvān asked Buzurgmihr . . . '.

² In P. (H) these sayings appear as Buzurgmihr's answers. Ar. (I), however, has: A sage said, 'All things . . .', &c.

³ *Adab*.

⁴ *Takalluf*.

knowledge¹ is knowing what ought to be done, and intelligence is applying (your knowledge) when you have learnt it.'

The Prophet, God bless him, stated: 'None of the things which God on High has apportioned² among His slaves is higher than intelligence. An intelligent man's eating and sleeping are more meritorious than an unintelligent man's worshipping and fasting; and an intelligent man's laugh is better than an unintelligent man's tears.'³

Aphorism

A sage was asked, 'What is intelligence?' He answered, 'Intelligence consists of (making) links and knots between twenty-five things.⁴ Were it not for these links and knots, the good and the bad would be confused. Firstly there are a knot and a link between monotheism and polytheism. Then there are knots between⁵ belief and unbelief, between piety and freedom from fear, between heedlessness (of God) and submission (to God);⁶ between doubt and certainty, between good health and misfortune, between virtue and corruption, between good character and bad character, between meanness and generosity, between modesty and boastfulness, between friendship and enmity, between praise and blame, between effort and despair, between decency and indecency, between truth and falsehood, between calmness and rashness, between light and darkness, between obedience (to God) and rebellion (against Him), between remembering God and heedlessness (of Him), between

¹ Ar. (I): 'Knowledge is knowing that you ought to learn, and intelligence is acting (accordingly) when you have learnt.'

² *Qismat*; i.e. by predestination.

³ i.e. weeping in penitence for sin. After this saying of the Prophet in Ar. (H), and before it in Ar. (I), come two aphorisms which are missing in P. (H): A man said to Euclid, 'I will not rest until I destroy your soul.' He answered, 'I will not rest until I drive the malice out of your heart.' A sage said, 'Just as a foul stink issues from a corpse, so does the stink of ignorance issue from an ignorant man; and it harms him, his neighbours and his relatives.'

⁴ Ar. (I) and Ar. (H) say 'twenty-three'. The actual totals are twenty-three in P. (H) and seventeen in Ar. (I).

⁵ Ar. (I) from here on reads: 'between belief and unbelief, good health and misfortune, generosity and meanness, good character and immorality, stupidity and ignorance, decency and correctness, truth and falsehood, gravity and light-headedness, darkness and light, generosity and disgrace, obeying (God) and rebelling (against God), remembering (God) and heedlessness (of Him), good counsel and envy, right custom and wrong innovation, compassion and cruelty, and serenity and right.'

⁶ *Ghaflat u Islām*.

good counsel and good aspiration, between (right) custom and (wrong) innovation, between kind-heartedness and hard-heartedness, and between wisdom and ignorance.'

The author of this book declares that all good qualities in men depend upon intelligence, and that all sorts of knowledge and (good) action have their source in it; as the following story shows.

Anecdote

It is related that the wind was transporting Solomon's throne one day, when a township came into view. Solomon, blessings upon him, commanded the wind to land him in that township; [and down he came. Over the gate of that town he saw]¹ written: 'The remuneration for one day's effort is one *dirham*, and the remuneration for one day's beauty is one hundred *dinārs*. The value of one hour's knowledge is undiscoverable.'

All things are dependent on knowledge, but knowledge is the captive of judgement.² Discretion (in judgement) and intelligence are innate,³ and any person whom God on High has endowed and formed [with intelligence] [has indeed been granted a great blessing].

Verses⁴

Although you may be born of noble stock,
although you may be blessed with talents rare
and have good looks like Joseph, Jacob's son;
unless you also have intelligence,
you'll be despised and always held to blame.

Understand, therefore, O brother,⁵ how great is the value of intelligence, and give thanks and praise to God on High for this blessing. It is God who knows best what is right.

¹ Thus also in Ar. (I). Cf. in *Kalilah wa Dimnah* (tr. from the Arabic of Ibn al-Muqaffa' by André Miquel, Paris, 1957, pp. 267-71), the story of the King's Son and his Three Companions—a labourer, a nobleman, and a merchant; in one day the labourer earned half a *dirham* for his effort, the nobleman five hundred *dinārs* for his good looks, and the merchant one hundred thousand *dirhams* for his intelligence; each wrote up the respective price on the city gate.

² *Ra'y*; Ar. (I), *al-ra'y wa'l-tadbīr*. Ar. (I), 'action (*al-'amal*) is the captive of judgement'; perhaps in error for *al-'ilm*, P. (H) *dānīsh*.

³ *Mādarzād*; Ar. (I), *ṭaw'amāni*, 'twins'. Perhaps *mādarzād* might mean 'children of the same mother', rather than 'innate'.

⁴ Ar. (I) has two Arabic distichs in the same metre and of almost identical meaning.

⁵ *Ay barādar*; Ar. (I), *ayyuhā'l-akh*. Elsewhere the counsels of this book are addressed to the Sultān. See Introduction, p. xlix.

CHAPTER VII

DESCRIBING WOMEN AND THEIR GOOD
AND BAD POINTS

The Apostle, God bless him, stated that the best and most blessed of women are those who are most prolific in child-bearing, fairest in countenance, and least costly in dowry.¹ He also stated, 'In so far as you are able, seek a free woman in marriage; they are the purest.'

The Prince of the Believers 'Umar (ibn al-Khaṭṭāb) said, 'Take refuge in God from the evils caused by women, and beware (even) of the most pious of them.' This means, let not (even) your own wife receive praise.²

The author of this book declares that any man who desires to be sound in his religion and sound as master of his house ought not to care about nobility of birth³ and beauty of countenance; for a pious (wife) is the best and most beautiful.

(Anecdote)⁴

It is related that at Marv lived a man called Nūḥ ibn Maryam, who was the *qāḍī* of Marv and also held the office of mayor.⁵ He was blessed with great wealth and had a very beautiful daughter. Many of the leading officials sought her hand, and the father was at a loss to know on whom he should bestow her. 'If I bestow her on one', he used to say, 'another will be displeased'; and he despaired (of solving the problem). He had an Indian slave named Mubārak, and once he told (this slave) to go to his orchard and keep watch over it. He went and stayed in the orchard two months.⁶ One day the master came to the orchard and told the slave to bring

¹ *Kābīn*; Ar. (I), *mahr*. Shorter E.I., art. *Mahr*.

² Not in Ar. (I).

³ *Aṣl*.

⁴ This and the following anecdotes about 'Abd Allāh ibn Mubārak and Abū Sa'id, except for the last sentence of the third anecdote, are missing in Ar. (I).

⁵ 'Office of mayor', *ri'āsat*; 'leading officials', *ra'īsān*. These terms were used of civilian officials, including 'burgomasters' of villages and quarters of cities. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, p. 340; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, p. 234. The name 'Noah son of Mary' is curious.

⁶ He would have stayed in the garden-house, which is still a pleasing feature of Persian life (like the summer cabin in America).

a bunch of grapes. The slave brought one, but (the grapes) were sour. The master told him to go and bring another bunch. The slave brought one, but (the grapes) were equally sour. 'How is it', the master asked, 'that you cannot get sweet grapes from a garden of this size?' 'I do not know,' replied the slave, 'for I have eaten no grapes from this garden.' 'Why not?' asked the master. He replied, 'You ordered me to keep watch over the grapes. You did not tell me to eat them.' 'God on High will keep watch over you likewise', said the judge, recognizing that the slave was scrupulous. Then he said to the slave, 'I have a plan for your (future).' He replied, 'I am a (slave), bought for *dirhams*¹ and an Indian. You are a judge. What plan have you for my future?' 'Listen carefully to what I shall say', the judge told him. 'Give your command', he replied. 'O Mubārak,' continued the judge, 'I have a daughter whom a great many important persons wish to wed. I do not know on which of them to bestow her. What do you say?' 'O master,' he replied, 'the unbelievers demand nobility of birth,² and the Jews and the Christians³ look for beauty of countenance. In the time of our Prophet, blessings upon him, (men) looked for religion, and today they demand worldly (wealth). Choose whichever of these four you desire!' 'I have already made my choice, O slave,' replied the judge; 'I have chosen religion, and I bestow my daughter upon you.' 'O master,' he said, 'I am a slave, bought for money. How can you give your daughter to me? She will never want me for a husband.' 'O slave,' replied the judge, 'arise and come home with me.' When they arrived at the house, the judge said to the girl's mother, 'O wife, this slave is exceedingly worthy and pious. It is my desire to give this daughter of mine to him (in marriage). What do you say?' 'Let me go and ask the girl,' she replied. The mother went and told the girl, who said, 'I shall do whatever you desire and command.' So the judge bestowed his daughter on Mubārak, and also gave him much gold and lodged them together. After a time Mubārak had a son, whom they named 'Abd Allāh; he whose name is celebrated and well known throughout the world and inscribed in the books, and whose asceticism and knowledge will be mentioned as long as the universe continues.

¹ *dirām-kharīdah*. The term for 'slave' in this story is *ghulām*; cf. p. 132 and p. 22, note 3. The highest priced *ghulams* were Turkish.

² *Aṣl*.
³ *Jahūdān u Tarsāyān*. In Irān, Christians were sometimes called *Tarsā*, i.e. '(God-)fearing'; Jews were and are often called *Kalīmī*, i.e. 'followers of (God's) word'.

(Similarly), when you take a wife, choose religion; for if you seek name or wealth, it will lead to disaster. You will be helpless and become desperate, and your wife will be unwilling to obey you. When you seek a wife, do not seek gratification and sensual enjoyment; seek sincere intention¹ to bear children for you, to restrain you from rebellion (against God), to enhance your obedience (to Him), and to screen you from the fire of hell.

(Anecdote)

Ten guests are reported to have come to 'Abd Allāh ibn Mubārak's (house) one day when he had nothing to lay before guests. He did, however, have a horse. With its help he had been wont to fight the infidels and perform the pilgrimage in alternate years. He killed the horse and laid it before his guests. 'You had nothing', said his wife, 'except this horse; why have you killed it?' 'Abd Allāh ibn Mubārak immediately went into the house, carried out all the articles and garments which were that wife's property from her dowry, handed them to her and pronounced her to be divorced. 'I do not need that woman,' he declared, 'because she hates guests.'

Not long afterwards, a man arrived and said, 'O Imām² of the Muslims, I have a daughter whose mother has died. Every day this girl tears her clothes and laments. She will come presently for a consultation³ with you. Give her a word of advice which perhaps may soothe her heart.' 'Abd Allāh ibn Mubārak said something to her accordingly. When the girl returned home, she said, 'O father, I have repented. Henceforward I shall not vex God on High. But I have one request to make of you.' 'What is it?' her father asked. 'You have been saying', she replied, 'that my hand is sought by possessors of worldly wealth. Take heed! To no man shall you give my hand, unless it be to 'Abd Allāh ibn Mubārak. For if we possess worldly wealth, he possesses both religion and worldly wealth.'⁴ He therefore gave his daughter (in marriage) to 'Abd Allāh ibn Mubārak, to whom he also sent a large quantity of *dinārs* and ten horses. One night 'Abd Allāh ibn Mubārak dreamt that Somebody was saying to him: 'If you have divorced an old wife for Our sake, We have given you a young wife to help you understand that no person's

¹ *Niyat*: see p. 4, note 6.

² i.e. leader in prayer.

³ *Majlis*; or 'séance'.

⁴ *Dīn . . . wa dunyā*. This seems inconsistent with 'Abd Allāh ibn Mubārak's poverty when he had nothing to offer his guests except the flesh of his horse. (Eating horse-flesh was disapproved, but not prohibited, by Muslim theologians.)

action is overlooked in Our (assessment) and that no person suffers loss on Our (account).'

Anecdote

Abū Sa'īd¹ related that in the time of the Children of Israel there was a good man who had a pious, judicious and tactful wife. An inspiration came down to the Prophet of the Age saying, 'Inform that good man that We have predestined him to spend one half of his life in poverty and one half in wealth. Let him choose now whether the poverty shall be during his youth or during his old age.' The young man on hearing this went to his wife and said, 'O wife, this is the command which has come down from God on High. How do you suggest that I choose?' 'What is your choice?' she asked. 'Come,' he replied, 'let us choose the poverty during our youth, so that when hardship comes we may have strength to endure it. (Moreover), when we grow old we shall need something to eat if we are to be free from cares and capable of properly obeying (God's commands).' Thereupon his wife said, 'O husband, if we are poor during our youth, we shall be unable to obey God's (commands) properly then; and thereafter, when we shall have thrown to the winds the prime of our life and grown weak, how shall we perform the duties involved in obeying (God)? Let us therefore choose the wealth now, so that we may during our youth have strength both to obey God's commands and to practise charity.' 'Your opinion is the right one', said the husband; 'let us act accordingly.' Then (another) inspiration came down to the Prophet of the Age, (and the message for that man and his wife was this): 'Now that you are striving to obey Us and that your intention² is good, I who am the Sustainer of all life will cause you to pass (straight) to wealth. Continue striving to obey My commands, and of whatever I give you give part for alms³ so that both this world and the next may be yours.'

The author of this book declares that he has related this story to help you understand that a good helpmate will do (you) good in this world's and the next world's affairs alike.

¹ See Index. Anecdote missing in Ar. (I).

² *Niyat*; see p. 4, note 6.

³ *Ṣadaqah*. See art. in *Shorter E.I.* This sentence, and the ensuing comment by the author, are also found in Ar. (I), from which the rest of this story and the three previous stories are missing.

Tradition¹

Ibn 'Abbās, God be pleased with him, has related that the Prophet went into the house of Umm Salamah, God be pleased with her, and saw that she had performed the morning prayer and was reciting God's epithets.² 'O Umm Salamah,' he asked her, 'why do not you join in the congregational prayer and go to the Friday service? Why do not you make the pilgrimage and go to fight for God against the infidels?'³ Why do not you finish memorizing the Qur'ān?' 'O Apostle of God,' she replied, 'all these are men's activities.' Then the Prophet, peace be upon him, stated: 'For women too there are activities of equal worth.' 'Which are they, God's Apostle?' she respectfully inquired. He answered: 'Whenever a woman who fulfils God's requirements and is obedient to her husband takes hold of a spinning-wheel and turns it, this is as if she were reciting God's epithets, joining in congregational prayer, and fighting against infidels.'

As long as (a woman) spins at the wheel, sins vanish from her.⁴ Spinning at the wheel is women's bridge and stronghold.⁵ Three things' sounds reach to the throne of God on High: (i) the sound of bows being drawn by warriors fighting infidels; (ii) the sound of the pens of scholars; (iii) the sound of spinning by virtuous women.

Aphorism

Aḥnaf ibn Qays has said: 'If you want women to like you, satisfy them sexually and treat them tenderly.'⁶

'Umar (ibn al-Khaṭṭāb), peace be upon him, has said: 'Do not speak to women of love,⁷ because their hearts will be corrupted. For women are like meat left in a desert; God's (help) is needed to preserve them.'

Aphorism

Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah said, 'I have spent my life with women in three ways: during my youth, in having sexual intercourse (with

¹ *Khabar*. See Introduction, p. lvii. The pages from here up to the end of the paragraph which compares characters of women and animals are missing in Ar. (H) but are present in Ar. (I).

² *Taṣbiḥ*. By counting with the rosary; *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Subḥa*.

³ *Ghazā*; *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Djihād*.

⁴ A play on the words *risad* ('spins') and *rizad* ('pour away', 'vanish').

⁵ *Ribāt* ('stronghold'): originally a place where relays of horses were kept and later a fortified monastery for *darvishes* engaged in Holy War.

⁶ Ibn Qutaybah, *Uyūn al-Akḥbār*, iv, p. 96, attributes a similar saying to al-Aḥnaf.

⁷ *Ishq*.

them); during my middle age, in being witty and tender (with them); and during my old age, in keeping together adequate wealth (for them).'

As for keeping numerous concubines,¹ this is not commendable, except in so far as justice can be done to them.

Tradition²

Salmān al-Fārsī, God be pleased with him, has related that the Prophet, God bless him, was (once) asked, 'Which women are best?' He answered, 'Those who obey you, whatever be your commands.' Then he was asked, 'Which are the worst?' He answered, 'Those who avoid pleasing their husbands.'

Aphorism

A teacher was teaching girls how to write.³ A sage passed by and said, 'This teacher is teaching wickedness to the wicked.'

Aphorism⁴

An intelligent woman was asked, 'What are the virtues of women?' ('And what', she rejoined, 'are the faults of men?') 'Niggardliness and cowardice', (they answered). ('These', she said,) 'are among the virtues of women.'

Aphorism

A sage wished (that) his short wife (might have been) tall. People asked him, 'Why did not you marry a wife of full stature?' 'A woman is an evil thing,' he answered, 'and the less (there is)⁵ of an evil thing the better.'

Aphorism

A sage has said, 'Men who marry women get four sorts of wife: (i) the wife who belongs wholly to her husband; (ii) the wife who

¹ *Kanizak*; Ar. (I), *al-jawārī*. *Shorter E.I.*, arts. 'Abd and Umm Walad.

² *Khabar*. See Introduction, p. lvii.

³ *Dabīrī*; Ar. (I), *al-khaṭṭ*. Education and literacy were thought to make wives more disobedient to husbands. Cf. in Ibn Qutaybah's *Uyūn al-Akḥbār*, iv, p. 78, a *ḥadīth* of 'Umar: 'Do not let your women live in upper rooms (*al-ghuraf*) and do not teach them writing (*al-kitāb*).'

⁴ Ar. (I) has before this an aphorism missing in P. (H): It is related that two women were in consultation when a sage passed by them. He said, 'Look at a snake (? eating) poison from a snake.'

⁵ Ar. (I), 'the "shorter" (*kulla mā qaṣura*) an evil thing is.' Evidently an Arabic, not a Persian, joke.

belongs half to her husband; (iii) the wife who belongs one-third to her husband; (iv) the wife who is her husband's enemy. The wife who belongs wholly to her husband will be a woman who is a virgin. The wife who belongs half to her husband will be [a woman whose former husband has died but has no children].¹ The wife who belongs one-third to her husband will be a woman whose former husband has died but who has children by the first husband. The wife who is her husband's enemy will be a (divorced) woman whose former husband is still living. Therefore the best wives are virgins.

As for the distinctive characteristics with which God on High has punished women, (the matter is as follows).

When Eve (disobeyed Almighty God and) ate fruit which He had forbidden to her from the tree in Paradise,² the Lord, be He praised, punished women with eighteen things: (i) menstruation; (ii) childbirth; (iii) separation from mother and father and marriage to a stranger; (iv) pregnancy (through him); (v) not having control over her own person; (vi) (having) a lesser share in inheritance;³ (vii) her liability to be divorced and inability to divorce;⁴ (viii) its being lawful for men to have four wives, but for a woman to have (only) one husband;⁵ (ix) the fact that she must stay secluded in the house; (x) the fact that she must keep her head covered inside the house; (xi) (the fact that) two women's testimony (has to be) set against the testimony of one man;⁶ (xii) the fact that she must not go out of the house unless accompanied by a near relative; (xiii) the fact that men take part in Friday and Feast Day prayers and funerals while women do not;⁷ (xiv) disqualification for rulership and judgeship;⁸ (xv) the fact that merit has one thousand components, (only) one of which is (attributable) to women, while nine hundred and ninety nine are (attributable) to men; (xvi) the fact that if women are profligate they will be given (only) half as much torment as (the rest of) the (Muslim) community at the Resurrection Day; (xvii) the fact that if their husbands die they must observe a waiting period⁹ of four months

¹ Ar. (I): *al-rāji'*, 'the woman who has returned' (i.e. to her own family).

² Cf. Q. ii. 33-34 and vii. 18-24.

³ *Shorter E.I.*, art. *Mirāth*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, art. *Ṭalāk*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, art. *Nikāh*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, art. *Shāhid*.

⁷ Participation by women in the *Ṣalāt* is permitted but not recommended.

⁸ Ar. (I) adds '*ilm*, 'knowledge', probably here meaning 'profession of '*ālim*', i.e. 'doctor of religion'.

⁹ *Iddat*. *Shorter E.I.*, art. '*Idda*'.

and ten days (before remarrying); (xviii) the fact that if their husbands divorce them they must observe a waiting period of three months or three menstruations (before remarrying).

Excursus describing the types of women¹

The race of women consists of ten species, and the character of each (of these) corresponds and is related to the distinctive quality of one of the animals. One (species) resembles the pig, another the ape, another the dog, another the snake, another the mule, another the scorpion, another the mouse, another the pigeon, another the fox, and another the sheep. The woman who resembles the pig in character knows full well how to eat, break (crockery),² and cram her stomach, and she does not mind where she comes and goes. She does not trouble herself with religion, prayer and fasting, and she never thinks about death, resurrection, reward and punishment, about (God's) promises, threats, commands and prohibitions, or about (His) pleasure and displeasure. She is heedless of her husband's rights³ and careless about nurturing and disciplining her children and teaching them knowledge of the Qur'ān. She always wears filthy clothes, and an unpleasant smell issues from her. The woman who has the character and peculiarities of the ape concerns herself with clothes of many colours—green, red, and yellow, with trinkets and jewels—pearls or rubies, and with gold and silver. She boasts of these to her relatives, but maybe her secret (self) is not the same as her (outward) appearance. The woman who has the character of the dog is one who, whenever her husband speaks, jumps at his face and shouts at him and snarls at him. If her husband's purse is full of silver and gold and the household is blessed with prosperity, she says to him, 'You are the whole world to me. May God on High never let me see evil befall you, and may my own death come before yours!' But if her husband becomes insolvent, she insults and chides him, saying 'You are a poor wretch',⁴ and everything is the opposite of what it was before. The woman who has the character of the mule is like a restive mule which will not stay in one place.⁵ She is stubborn and goes her own

¹ This heading is absent in Ar. (I), and in Ar. (H) the whole passage is missing. See Introduction, p. xxvi.

² Thus in Ar. (I).

³ Ar. (I), 'heedless of God's pleasure and wrath'.

⁴ Ar. (I) adds: 'casts aspersions on his reputation and genealogy and expels him from the house . . . '.

⁵ Ar. (I), 'which if it stops on a bridge will not budge however much it is whipped'.

way, and is conceited. The woman who has the peculiarities of the scorpion is always visiting the houses of the neighbours, gossiping and collecting gossip; she does her utmost to cause enmity and hatred among them and to stir up strife. Like the scorpion she stings wherever she goes. She is not afraid to be one of those concerning whom the Prophet, blessings upon him, stated: 'No instigator of strife will enter Paradise', meaning (in Persian) 'No tale-teller will go to heaven'. The woman who has the character of the mouse is a thief who steals from her husband's purse (and hides what she has stolen) in the houses of the neighbours. She steals barley, wheat, rice and miscellaneous supplies and gives away yarn for spinning. The woman who has the peculiarities of the pigeon flits about all day long and is never still. She says to her husband, 'Where are you going and whence have you come?'¹ and she does not speak affectionately. The woman who has the peculiarities of the fox lets her husband out of the house and eats everything there is (in it), then does not stir and pretends to be sick, and when her husband comes in, starts a quarrel and says, 'You left me (alone in the house) sick.' The woman who has the peculiarities of the sheep is blessed like the sheep, in which everything is useful. The good woman is the same. She is useful to her husband and to (his) family and the neighbours, compassionate with her own kinsfolk, affectionate towards the (members of the) household and towards her children, and obedient to Almighty God. The pious, veiled² woman is a blessing from God on High, and few men (are able to find) a pious, veiled woman (for a wife); as the following story shows.

Anecdote

It is related that an immoral man wished to presume upon a virtuous woman in an unlawful manner. 'O woman,' he said, 'go and lock all the doors securely.' She went, and then returned and said, 'I have locked all the doors except one.' 'Which door is that?' he asked. 'The door between us and the Lord,'³ she answered;

¹ Ar. (I): 'Where are you going? Without doubt you do not want me and love someone else. You are not being straight with me and affectionate towards me.'

² *Mastūrah*. Ar. (I): 'The religiosity of woman is her veil (*sitruhā*) and (it—or she—is) one of God's blessings to His slaves.'

³ Ar. (I): 'I have locked the doors which lie between us and (other) creatures (*khalq*), but there remains the door which lies between you and the Creator (*Khāliq*).'

'I knew no way of (locking) that (door).' The man was awed by these words, and he repented and returned to God.

Anecdote

A certain descendant of 'Alī lived at Samarqand. One day when he was standing at the door of his house a woman passed by. The lane being empty, he seized the woman's arm and dragged her inside the house. Then he attempted to have intercourse with her. 'O *Sayyid*,'¹ she said, 'first answer me one question. Then do what you please.' 'Say (what it is)', replied the descendant of 'Alī. '(If) you possess me unlawfully and then I become pregnant by you and then a child comes, what do you think this child will be? A descendant of 'Alī or a (bastard)?'² 'A descendant of 'Alī', he said. 'Whether or not you yourself are one of 'Alī's descendants,' she said, 'the deed which you intended is something which genuine descendants of 'Alī would not do.' (These words) abashed the descendant of 'Alī. He let go of the woman's arm, and he vowed to God on High that he would never treat women, whether near relatives or strangers,³ in that way again.

A man ought to be eager (to uphold his respectability), for religious merit is (associated) with such eagerness and with extreme jealousy. (A man's eagerness) should reach the point where he will insist that the noise of pounding with the pestle by his womenfolk shall not be heard by strange men. If a man comes to the door of the house, it is improper for the women to answer him smoothly and gently, because the hearts of men are captivated by many things; if a woman does have to answer him, she ought to put her finger to her mouth so that he will take her (voice) for (the voice of) an old woman. It is improper for women to look upon any man who is not a near relative, even though that man be blind.

(Tradition)

In the Traditions⁴ (this saying) of God's Apostle has been (reported). Among his Companions was a man named 'Abd Allāh

¹ The title, still used today, of descendants of 'Alī through his son Ḥusayn. His descendants through Ḥasan are called *Sharīf*.

² P. (H), '*Alawī buwad yā sibṭ-i*. According to Lane's *Arabic Lexicon*, *sibṭ* means a grandson or descendant, usually by a daughter and through the female line, in contrast with *ḥafīd*, a grandson or descendant through a son and the male line. Ar. (I): *kh-s-an* (? *khasisan*) '*ammīyan*, 'vulgar (? wretch)'.
³ *Maḥram*; *nā-maḥram*; cf. Q. xxxiii. 55.

⁴ *Khabar*; see Introduction, p. lvii.

ibn Maktūm, who was blind, and one day (this man) was sitting among the women in God's Apostle's House. The Prophet, God bless him, came in and said, 'O 'Ā'ishah, it is not permissible for women to sit with men who are not close relatives.' 'But he is blind', said 'Ā'ishah. 'Even if he cannot see you,' replied (the Prophet), 'you can see him.'

(Anecdote)

Hasan al-Baṣrī is reported to have arrived at the house of Rābi'ah (al-'Adawiyah) with some (of his friends). 'It has been a (long) way', they cried out; ('permit us to come in'). 'Wait one hour', she replied. Then she ordered a rug to be put up as a curtain, and they came in and greeted her; and she answered them from behind the curtain. 'Why have you put up the curtain?' they asked. 'I was ordered to do so', she replied; 'for the blessed God on High has said (Q. xxxiii. 53), "Ask them from behind a curtain."'"²

It is a man's duty never in any circumstance to look upon a strange woman; for besides the penalty in the next world there is a penalty in this world, as the following story shows.

(Anecdote)

It is related that there once lived at Bukhārā a water-carrier, who for thirty years had been carrying water to the house of a certain goldsmith. Now the goldsmith had an exceedingly beautiful and virtuous wife.³ One day when the water-carrier had brought the water, he saw her standing in the courtyard. Suddenly he walked up, took her hand, and squeezed it. Then he departed. When the goldsmith returned home, his wife said to him, 'Tell me truly. Did you do something (in the bazaar) today which has displeased God on High? What was it?' He replied, 'I did nothing, except that at lunch-time I made a bracelet for a certain woman, and she put it on her arm. The woman was intensely beautiful, and I took

¹ Ar. (I), 'set out to visit Rābi'ah al-'Adawiyah . . . with a group of his friends'. On chronological grounds, Hasan cannot have visited Rābi'ah. See Index.

² This verse and Q. xxxiii. 53 refer in the context only to the Prophet's wives, but were held in medieval Islām (and are still held by some Muslims) to be applicable to all Muslim women. The word for 'curtain' (*ḥijāb*) came to mean 'seclusion of women'.

³ Ar. (I) adds: 'well-known for her dignity (*al-razānah*) and characterized by veiling' (*al-sitr*).

her hand and squeezed it.'¹ 'God is most great!' exclaimed his wife; 'that is what you did, and this is the reason why the water-carrier who has been coming to this house for thirty years and has never played false with us today at lunch-time squeezed my hand (too).' 'I have repented', her husband said. On the following day the water-carrier came. He grovelled on the ground before her and said, 'Absolve me. It was the devil who led me astray yesterday.' 'It was not your fault,' she replied, 'because my husband the master of the house (who was at the shop) had committed the same offence; (God repaid him in kind,² here in this lower world).'

A wife must be contented with her husband, whether he be capable of much or of little. She must follow the examples of the blessed Fāṭimah and of 'Ā'ishah, in order that she may become one of the Ladies of Paradise;³ as the following story shows.

Anecdote

It is related that Fāṭimah, God be pleased with her, (had been doing a lot of grinding on the hand-mill). She showed her hands to 'Alī, God ennoble his face, and they were blistered. 'Tell your father,' said 'Alī, 'and perhaps he will buy a maidservant for you.' Fāṭimah laid the matter before the Apostle, peace be upon him, and said, 'O Apostle of God, buy me a maidservant. I am becoming desperate with all the work (I have to do).' The Prophet, God bless him, answered, 'I will teach you something which is dearer than servants and higher than the seven heavens and earths.' 'What is it, God's Apostle?' she asked. He answered, 'When you are about to go to sleep, say three times: "Praise be to God", "Thanks be to God", "There is no God but God" and "God is Most Great". This will be better for you than any maidservant.'

In the Traditions⁴ it is reported that the Prophet, blessings be upon him, owned a rug⁵ and that when the members of his household pulled it over their heads, their legs were left bare. On the night when Fāṭimah went to 'Alī as a bride, ('Alī) had a sheep-

¹ Ar. (H) here inserts a poem (*mathnawī*): 'On her arm is a bracelet of pure gold and I see it shining like fire over pure water. Will secret thoughts come to my mind of water with a girdle of fire?'

² Thus in Ar. (I); sentence missing in P. (H). *Shorter E.I.*, article *Ḳiṣās* (retaliation in kind).

³ *Bānū-yi bihīsh*; Ar. (I), *khawātīn al-khuld* ('ladies of eternity').

⁴ *Khabar*; see Introduction, p. lvii.

⁵ *Gilim*, Ar. (I): 'They had no household goods except a rug' (*kasā*). In the Shi'ite passion plays, Muḥammad, Fāṭimah, 'Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn are called *Al-i kasā* or *Al-i 'abā*.

skin on which they slept. Fāṭimah owned (none of the goods) of this world (except) a rug and a palm-fibre pillow. It will therefore assuredly be proclaimed on the Resurrection Day, 'Lower your eyes that the Lady of Paradise¹ may pass!'

A wife will become dear to her husband and gain his affection, firstly by honouring him; secondly by obeying him when they are alone together; and (further) by bearing in mind his advantage and disadvantage, adorning herself (for him), keeping herself concealed from (other) men and secluding herself in the house; by coming to him tidy and pleasantly perfumed, having meals ready (for him) at the (proper) times and cheerfully preparing whatever he desires, by not making impossible demands, not nagging, keeping her nakedness covered at bed-time, and keeping her husbands' secrets during his absence and in his presence.

The author of this book declares that it is the duty of gentlemen² to respect the rights of their wives and veiled ones³ and to show mercy, kindness and forbearance to them. A man who wishes to become merciful and affectionate towards his wife must [remember] ten things (which will help him) to act fairly: (i) she cannot divorce you, while you can (divorce her whenever you wish); (ii) she can take nothing from you,⁴ while you can take everything from her; (iii) as long as she is in your net⁵ she can have no other husband, while you can have another wife; (iv) (without your permission she cannot go out of the house, while you can);⁶ (v) she is afraid of you, while you are not afraid of her; (vi) she is content with a cheerful look and a kind word from you, while you are not content with any action of hers;⁷ (viii) she is taken away from her mother, father and kinsfolk (for your sake), while you are not separated from any person unless you so wish; (ix) you may buy concubines and prefer them to her, while she has to endure this;⁸ (x) she kills herself (with worry)⁹ when you are sick, while you do not worry when she dies.

¹ *Khātūn-i bihišt*: Ar. (I), *Sayyidat al-nisā'* Fāṭimah.

² *Mardān*; Ar. (I), *al-rijāl al-aḥrār*.

³ *Sar-pūshīdagān*. Ar. (I), *al-nisā' al-'awrāt*.

⁴ Ar. (I) adds, 'without your permission'. In Islāmic law, the wife's dowry (*mahr*, P. *kābīn*) cannot be taken from her. ⁵ *Hībālāh*; likewise in Ar. (I).

⁶ The fifth item is lacking in P. (H). Ar. (I), 'She cannot fight Holy War while you can'; but this seems out of context.

⁷ Thus also in Ar. (I). An oddly sweeping generalization!

⁸ Ar. (I) here inserts another item (making total eleven): 'She is always serving you, while you do not serve her.'

⁹ P. (H): 'She kills herself during your sickness.' Ar. (I): 'She thinks about herself and worries when you are ill.'

For (all) these reasons, intelligent men will be merciful towards their wives and will not treat them unjustly; because women are prisoners in the hands of men. The intelligent man will (also) have forbearance for women; because they are deficient in intelligence. Referring to their scant intelligence, the Prophet, peace be upon him, stated: 'They are deficient in (their) intellects and (their) religion.'¹ Moreover, no man ought to act upon (women's) plans;² if he does, he will lose, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

King Parvīz was extremely fond of fish. One day when he was sitting on the terrace with Shīrīn, a fisherman brought a large fish and laid it before them. Parvīz ordered that he be given four thousand *dirhams*. Shīrīn said, 'You were not right to give this fisherman four thousand *dirhams*.' 'Why (not)?' he asked. Shīrīn answered, 'Because henceforward whenever you give four thousand *dirhams* to one of your servants and retainers, he will say "(The king) gave me the same as he gave to a fisherman"; and whenever you give less, he will say, "(The king) gave me less than he gave to a fisherman".' 'You are right,' said Parvīz; 'but it is over now, and kings cannot decently go back on their word.' '(I have) a plan for dealing with the matter,' said Shīrīn; 'call back the fisherman, and ask him whether the fish is male or female. If he says that it is male, tell him that you wanted a female one; and if he says that it is female, tell him that you wanted a male one.' So Parvīz called back the fisherman. He was a clever and very knowing man, and when Parvīz asked him 'Is this fish male or female?' he kissed the ground and said: 'This fish is neither male nor female. It is hermaphrodite.'³ Parvīz laughed and ordered that he be given a further four thousand *dirhams*. The man then went to the treasurer, drew eight thousand *dirhams*, and put them into a knapsack which he slung over his shoulder. When he came out into the courtyard, one *dirham* dropped from the knapsack. He put down the knapsack and picked the *dirham* up; and Parvīz and Shīrīn saw him do this. Shīrīn turned to Parvīz and said, 'What a poor mean fellow this fisherman is! One *dirham* out of the eight thousand

¹ *Hunna nāqīṣātu'l-'uqūli wa'l-dīn*. Ar. (I) omits this saying.

² *Tadbīr*.

³ *Khunthā*, Ar. (I): *Hādhihi'l-samakatu khunthā, lā dhakarun wa lā unthā*. The Arabic rhyme being the main point, perhaps the story was originally Arab, not Persian.

dropped and he objected to parting with it.' Parvīz was annoyed and replied, 'What you say is true.' Then he ordered that the fisherman be called back, and said to him, 'What a poor fellow you must be! When one *dirham* out of the eight thousand dropped from your knapsack, you put down the knapsack from your shoulder and picked the *dirham* up.' The fisherman kissed the ground and said, 'May the king's life be long! I picked up that one *dirham* because of its importance. It has the king's face stamped on one side and the king's name inscribed on the other. I feared that some person might unknowingly trample upon it and dishonour the king's name and face, and that I should be (responsible for) the offence.' Parvīz was pleased (with this answer) and ordered that he be given a further four thousand *dirhams*. So the fisherman returned (home) with twelve thousand *dirhams*. Then Parvīz said, 'A man who acts upon a woman's suggestion will lose two *dirhams* for every one.'

The author of this book declares that the prosperity¹ and peopling of the world depend on women. True prosperity, however, will not be achieved without (sound) planning.² It is men's duty, especially after coming of age, to take precautions in matters of choosing wives and giving daughters in marriage, and so avoid falling into disgrace and embarrassment. It is a fact that all the trials, misfortunes and woes which befall men come from women,³ and that few men get in the end what they long and hope for from them; as the poet has said,

When slaves rebel against the Merciful,
when men in fear and dread of Sultāns stand,
it's due to women.

When robbers put their lives into the balance,
when men incur disgrace, invariably
it's due to women.

The disobedience and sad fate of Adam,
Joseph's incarceration in the dungeon,
were due to women.

Hārūt's long stay in Babylon, where he writhes
suspended by a hair, making loud groans,
was due to women.

¹ *Ābādānī*; Ar. (I), 'imārat. Cf. p. 37, note 3.

² *Tadbīr*. Cf. p. 171, note 2. After this Ar. (I) adds: There is a saying, 'Consult them and do the opposite' (attributed by the *Sīyāsatnāmah*, chap. xlii, to Muḥammad).

³ Likewise in Ar. (I).

Majnūn's flight to the nomads, sick with love,
the tale of Sindibād which makes you smile,
were due to women.

Ruin in the two worlds, and last of all
unfaithfulness, you'll learn, are what men get
from women.¹

¹ The Persian verses consist of six *bayts* in the *muḍā'irī* metre, with numerous metrical errors. Prof. Humā'ī draws attention to the unsoundness of these verses, and points out in his introduction that some of the poetry appearing in the book may be translated from Arabic. The Arabic version of these verses, which he quotes, is not very different; the following is an attempt to translate it:

Because of the fascination of women, the young man may perhaps rebel against the Merciful or become afraid of the Sultān.—Were it not for them (women), the thief would not (*sic*) fear selling his life at the cheapest of prices.—Because of them, Adam together with Joseph was reprimanded in the incontrovertible revelation for rebellion (against God).—Likewise in Babylon, Hārūt head downmost and suspended by the hair on a *jīdh'ān* (? palm-trunk on which criminals were hanged).—Majnūn (of the tribe of) 'Āmir (lived) careworn because of women; in the Sindibād (story) there are amazing tales of women.—All misfortunes come from them, and fidelity does not come from them; (so it was and will be) for all time.

BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

AARON (Hārūn). Son of 'Imrān, who had been *wazīr* to Pharaoh; elder brother of Moses (q.v.) and his *wazīr*. Concurred in the making of the golden calf. 106.

(AL-) 'ABBĀS (ibn al-Aḥnaf). B. c. 133/75; d. c. 188/803 or 193/808. Arabic poet; a favourite of Hārūn al-Rashīd and a protégé of the Barmakids. Author of elegant *ghazals* (love-poems). 20.

(AL-) 'ABBĀS (ibn al-Ma'mūn). D. 223/838. Son of the Caliph Ma'mūn. Excluded from the succession when Ma'mūn designated first the 'Alid 'Alī al-Riḍā and then his own half-brother Mu'ṭasim; but appointed governor of (northern) Mesopotamia, where he distinguished himself in war against the Byzantines. His troops attempted to proclaim him Caliph after Ma'mūn's death in 218/833, but he swore allegiance to Mu'ṭasim. He acquiesced, however, in a second attempted *coup d'état*; this failed, and he was imprisoned and died. 120.

'ABD ALLĀH IBN AL-'ABBĀS. D. c. 86/687-8. Son of Muḥammad's uncle 'Abbās, and ancestor of the 'Abbāsids. Served as governor of Baṣrah under 'Alī; alleged to have embezzled the public funds on relinquishing this post, but possibly took them with the approval of Mu'āwiyah. Recognized the Umayyads and refused to join in the revolt of 'Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr (61/681-2). Appears to have been a genuine scholar. Very large numbers of Traditions and Qur'ānic interpretations are attributed to him. 14, 113, 117, 155, 162.

'ABD ALLĀH IBN JABALAH. A secretary in the service of Mu'āwiyah (q.v.), who sent him to negotiate the abdication of Ḥasan. 116.

'ABD ALLĀH IBN JA'FAR (ibn Abī Ṭālib). D. 80/699 or 85/704. A nephew of 'Alī. Probably born in Abyssinia where his father emigrated during the persecution of the first Muslims at Mecca; they later rejoined Muḥammad at Madīnah. 'Abd Allāh was famous for his generosity. He attempted to dissuade Ḥusayn (q.v.) from his fateful expedition to 'Irāq. 131.

'ABD ALLĀH IBN MAKṬŪM. A blind Companion of Muḥammad. 167 f.

'ABD ALLĀH IBN MĀLIK AL-KHUZĀ'Ī. Arab general in the service of Mahdī, Hārūn al-Rashīd and Ma'mūn. Was chief of the *shurṭah* (palace guard or police) at Baghdād. As governor of Armenia led troops against the first Khurramite rebels in Āzarbāijān. Dismissed in 202/817 at the instigation of Ma'mūn's *wazīr* Faḍl ibn Sahl (q.v.). 123 f., 127 ff.

'ABD ALLĀH IBN MAS'ŪD. D. 32/853 or 33/854. A Meccan of humble origin and one of Muḥammad's first converts. Fought in various campaigns; became an official and teacher at Kūfah. Celebrated for his piety

and as a transmitter of Traditions and Qur'ān-reader. His reading differed from the official recension of 'Uthmān in that he considered *ṣūrah*s i, cxiii and cxiv to be not part of the Qur'ān. Ancestor of the historian Mas'ūdī. 28.

'ABD ALLĀH IBN MUBĀRAK. B. 108/726; d. c. 181/797. Persian mystic and ascetic, known also as a Traditionist and critic of unreliable *Ḥadīths*. Staunch upholder of Law and Custom (*Sharī'ah* and *Sunnah*) and opponent of heresy. Was a Ḥanafite but influenced the thought of Ibn Ḥanbal. Lived mainly at Marv where he founded two monasteries (*khānqāhs*). Died in 'Irāq and is buried at Hit. 155, 159, 160.

'ABD ALLĀH IBN RABī'AH. Not identified. 131.

'ABD ALLĀH IBN RĀFī'. A secretary employed by 'Alī. Not identified. 116.

'ABD ALLĀH IBN 'UMAR (ibn al-Khaṭṭāb). D. 73/693. A son of the second Caliph. Fought in various campaigns but kept out of politics. Noted for his piety and nobility of soul. A scrupulous transmitter of Traditions. 18, 58, 59.

'ABD AL-'AZīZ IBN MARWĀN. D. 85/754. A good governor of Egypt; took up the post under his father Marwān I (q.v.) and remained in it under his brother 'Abd al-Malik for twenty years until his death. Designated by Marwān to succeed 'Abd al-Malik as Caliph, but the latter wished to designate his own sons Walīd and Sulaymān and did so after 'Abd al-'Azīz's death. 22, 132.

ABD AL-RAḤMĀN IBN 'AWF. D. c. 31/652. Early Meccan convert to Islām; one of those who emigrated temporarily to Abyssinia. Fought at Badr and in other battles. Was an able business man and made a large fortune. 65.

ABŪ 'ALī (al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad) AL-DAQQĀQ. D. 406/1015 or 412/1021. A mystic and preacher of Nishāpūr; teacher of Abū'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī, the author of the celebrated *Risālah* (composed 437/1045) which did much to make Ṣūfism respectable. 54.

ABU 'ALī ILYĀS. There was a governor of Kirmān under the Būyids named Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn Ilyās who died in 356/967; he is not likely to have ever been army commander at Nishāpūr, as stated here and in the *Siyāsatnāmah*, chap. vii. But the *Siyāsatnāmah*, chap. ix, states that he was governor of Kirmān. 54.

ABŪ BAKR ('Abd Allāh al-'Atīq). First Caliph, r. 11/632-13/634. One of Muḥammad's first converts and most trusted friends and advisers; father of 'Ā'ishah. His armies quelled the *riddah* (rebellions of Arab tribes under rival prophets), and defeated the Byzantines at Ajnādayn in Palestine. Known as al-Ṣiddīq because of his sincerity. 19, 67.

ABŪ 'L-ḤASAN AL-AHWĀZī. ? D. 466/1055. Author of lost Arabic works and a master of rhyme and ornamental prose; best known for his *Rasā'il* (Letters). Perhaps identical with the author of a 'Mirror for Princes' entitled *al-Tibr al-Munsabik fī Tadbīr al-Malik*. See Introduction, p. xii, note 2, and p. lviii. 99.

ABŪ ḤĀZIM (Maslamah ibn Abī Dīnār). D. 136/754 or 140/758. Called al-A'raj ('The Lame'). A prominent ascetic and mystic of Madīnah. 21, 22.

ABŪ HURAYRAH. D. 57/676 or 58/678. Real name doubtful; so called because of his fondness for little cats. Companion of Muḥammad, whom he joined at Madīnah in 7/629. The most prolific transmitter of Tradition among the Companions. 37 f.

ABŪ JA'FAR ZAYDŪYAH. A kinsman of 'Amr ibn Layth (q.v.). Not identified. 94 f.

ABŪ MŪSĀ ('Abd Allāh ibn Qays) AL-ASH'ARĪ. D. c. 42/663. A Yamanite, he joined Muḥammad in 7/628. Commanded troops in the Yaman under Muḥammad and Abū Bakr. Under 'Umar he was appointed governor of Baṣrah in 17/638 and commanded expeditions in Persia and northern Mesopotamia. Continued as governor of Baṣrah under 'Uthmān. Neutral in the civil wars, but was nevertheless appointed by 'Alī (q.v.) to be his representative at the arbitration of Adhrūh in 37/657. In his verdict, however, he declared both 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah to be unworthy of the Caliphate. 23.

ABŪ 'L-QĀSIM. *Either*: Sage and mystic of Samarqand, noted for his wise sayings and his kindness. Real name, Ishāq ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il. D. 342/953.

Or: Sage of Kirmān, contemporary with Ibn Sinā (Humā'i). 140.

ABŪ QILĀBAH (al-Jarmī). D. 104/723. Transmitter of Traditions. An opponent of Ṣūfism, he thought that innovation (*bid'ah*) should be punished with death. 21.

ABŪ SA'ĪD. Probably *either* Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī'l-Khayr (real name Faḍl Allāh ibn Muḥammad) *or* Abū Sa'īd Aḥmad ibn 'Isa al-Kharrāz. Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī'l-Khayr, b. 357/968, d. 440/1049, was a mystic of Mayhanah in Khurāsān and reputed but possibly not real author of Sūfī quatrains in Persian; celebrated also for his meeting and correspondence with the philosopher Ibn Sinā. Pantheistic in tendency, he said, 'There is nothing inside this shirt except God.' At first he lived as a solitary ascetic, but from the age of 40 he devoted himself to serving the poor, for whom he arranged lavish banquets and ecstatic dances. He was often accused of heresy, but had influential protectors; moreover, his powers of thought-reading and interpreting physiognomy were considered miraculous. Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz, d. 286/899, an ascetic of Baghdād, was accused of heresy and fled to Bukhārā, then to Egypt. Said by Hujwīrī to have been the first to define *fanā'* (self-annihilation in God), though others attribute this to Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī. 161.

ABŪ SUFYĀN (Ṣakhr ibn Ḥarb ibn Umayyah). D. c. 653. Leader of the Umayyad clan of the Quraysh at Mecca and a successful merchant. Opposed Muḥammad, and commanded the Meccans at Badr and Uḥud and in the War of the Ditch. Negotiated the surrender of Mecca in 8/629, and was treated with much consideration by Muḥammad. Fought in the Muslim armies at Hunayn and the Yarmūk. His daughter

Umm Ḥabībah was married to Muḥammad in 7/628, and his son Mu'āwiyah became Caliph. 78.

ABŪ ṬĀLIB ('Abd Manāf ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim). D. c. 619. Brother of Muḥammad's father 'Abd Allāh and guardian of Muḥammad after he had become an orphan. Did not adhere to Islām, but as long as he lived effectively protected Muḥammad. Half-brother of 'Abbās and Abū Lahab; father of 'Alī, Ja'far and Ḥamzah who became Muslims and of Ṭālib who fought against Muḥammad at Badr. Famous for his piety and sense of honour. 105.

ABŪ 'UBAYD (al-Qāsim ibn Sallām). B. c. 154/770, d. 224/838. Qur'ānic scholar, grammarian and lawyer; a native of Harāt. Said to have compiled the first great Arabic dictionary (now lost) and important treatises concerning difficult passages in the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth. Only a work on jurisprudence and another (*al-Amthāl*) on belles-lettres now survive. 108.

ABŪ YŪSUF (Ya'qub ibn Ibrāhīm). D. 182/798. Eminent lawyer; chief judge (*qāḍī'l-quḍāt*) of Baghdād under Hārūn al-Rashīd. A native of Kūfah where he studied under Abū Ḥanīfah. One of the founders of the Ḥanafī school of jurisprudence. Author of *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, a treatise on public finance and criminal law, and other important works. 104.

ĀDAM. First man, created from clay. Also the first Prophet. God commanded the angels to bow down before him, and all did except Iblīs (q.v.). The Satan tempted him and his wife Eve to eat fruits from a forbidden tree. Later he received words from God who relented towards him. He and Eve are said to be buried at the hill of Abū Qubays near the great mosque of Mecca. 21, 59.

AFRASİYĀB. Legendary king of the 'Tūr' people (*Tūrān*) said to be the ancestors of the Turks. First invaded Īrān in the reign of Minūchihr; they fixed the Oxus as the boundary between Īrān and Tūrān. The wars continued, however, and in them the Īrānian champion, Rustam son of Zāl, performed heroic deeds. Eventually Afrasiyāb was defeated and killed by the Īrānian king Kay Khusraw. 47.

AḤMAD IBN AL-ḤASAB? (Khaṣīb?) (Khuḍayr?). Not identified. Perhaps in error for Abū'l-Khaṣīb, who was a chamberlain (*ḥājib*) to Maṣṣūr. (Aḥmad ibn al-Khaṣīb was *wazīr* to the parricide Caliph Munṭaṣir (r. 247/861–248/862).) 119.

(AL-)AḤNAF IBN QAYS ('The deformed of foot'—real name Ṣakhr). D. 67/687. Brought about the adhesion of his tribe, the Banū Tamīm, to Islām. They formed an important part of the garrison of Baṣrah, and he commanded their contingents in the conquest of Persia, raiding as far as Balkh. Neutral in the Battle of the Camel (*see* 'Alī); later a staunch opponent of Shī'ism and Khārijism. Had great influence in Baṣrah, where he was able to reconcile the tribal factions. Said to have befriended Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (q.v.). Famous for his aphorisms (*ḥikam*) and, like Mu'āwiyah, for his level-headedness (*ḥilm*). 92, 135, 142, 162.

'Ā'ISHAH. B. 613 or 614, d. 58/678. The beloved of Muḥammad, who married her in 619 or 620; daughter of Abū Bakr. Was accused of adultery but exonerated by divine revelation (Q. xxiv. 11 f.). Criticized 'Uthmān but deplored his murder. Fought for Ṭalḥah and Zubayr in the Battle of the Camel (36/656), so-called after the camel on which she rode. After the battle she was sent back to Madīnah by 'Alī (q.v.), with whom she became reconciled. Talented and literate, she was an important source of Tradition. 31, 44, 169.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT (Iskandar-i Rūmī). Son of Philip (Faylaqūs) or, according to some Persian accounts, son of Dārā the Elder (or Dārāb) by Philip's daughter (see table on p. 48, note 1). Educated by Aristotle. Made war against Dārā the Younger, conquered Egypt, and at a battle in Mesopotamia finally defeated Dārā, who, however, escaped. Corresponded with Dārā, married his daughter, and received his testament, thus becoming legitimate king of Persia when Dārā was murdered. Conquered India and travelled over the world in quest of knowledge. Died at Babylon. Alexander is regarded as the exemplar of the philosopher king and has become the hero of legends derived from the lost Alexander-romance of pseudo-Callisthenes (see Introduction, p. lxxi f.). He is said to have travelled with Khidr (q.v.—or according to Niẓāmī with Ilyās) through the Land of Darkness to the Fountain of Life, but not to have drunk from it (as Khidr did); and is generally identified with the Qur'ānic Dhū'l-Qarnayn (q.v.). 75, 82, 92, 96, 100 f., 113 n. 8, 137, 138, 142.

'ALĪ IBN ABĪ ṬĀLIB. B. c. 598, d. 40/661. Son of Abū Ṭālib, cousin of Muḥammad and his second or third convert. Married his daughter Fātimah shortly after the *hijrah* to Madīnah. Fought with great bravery in Muḥammad's wars. Uncompromisingly high-principled and religious. Took no part in public affairs under Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān. Elected Caliph after the murder of 'Uthmān in 35/656, but was accused by his enemies of having connived at the murder. Defeated the pretenders Ṭalḥah and Zubayr at the battle of the Camel (see 'Ā'ishah) and encountered the army of Mu'āwiyah (q.v.) at the plain of Šiffin. To stop the shedding of Muslim blood by Muslims, he agreed to arbitration by the Qur'ān. Part of his army disapproved of his accepting arbitration and seceded (the Khārijites); he had to take the field against them at the bloody battle of Nahrawān (38/658). Meanwhile, the arbiters Abū Mūsā al-'Ash'arī (q.v.) and 'Amr ibn al-'Aṣ (q.v.) had pronounced 'Alī to be disqualified, and 'Amr had also confirmed Mu'āwiyah. 'Alī could not accept this. He continued to claim the Caliphate and to rule in 'Irāq and Persia until his murder by a Khārijite, Ibn Muljam. Shī'ites hold that 'Alī is *Walī Allāh* (Friend of God) and First *Imām*, having been designated successor by Muḥammad at Ghadīr Khumm after the latter's farewell pilgrimage. 16 n. 7, 19, 89, 116, 142, 167, 169.

'ALĪ IBN (AL-)ḤUSAYN, called Zayn al-'Abidīn and 'Alī Aṣghar. D. 93/712. Younger son of Ḥusayn (q.v.); survived the massacre of Karbalā in

which his elder brother 'Alī Akbar was killed. Fourth Imām of the Shī'ites; respected also by Sunnites, and especially Šūfis. 26, 27.

(AL-)AMĪN, MUḤAMMAD. 'Abbāsīd Caliph, b. 170/787, r. 193/809–198/813. Son of Hārūn al-Rashīd by the latter's principal wife (and cousin) Zubaydah. Faḍl ibn Yahyā al-Barmakī was his tutor and the poet Abū Nuwās was his boon-companion. Hārūn in 186/802 designated Amīn as his successor and Ma'mūn as Amīn's successor. Amīn, a pleasure-loving prince, duly succeeded and Ma'mūn became governor of Khurāsān. In 194/810 Amīn violated the arrangement by designating his own son as his successor. After long wars Amīn was defeated and put to death by Ma'mūn's Khurāsānian troops led by Ṭāhir the Ambidextrous. 122 f.

'AMR IBN AL-'ĀṢ. D. c. 42/663. Qurayshite politician and general, converted to Islām shortly before the Muslim conquest of Mecca. Commanded troops sent by Muḥammad to 'Umān and took part in the conquest of Palestine and Syria. Conquered Egypt 19/640–21/642 and remained governor till the death of 'Umar. Founded Fustāṭ (later Cairo) and was an excellent administrator. Dismissed by 'Uthmān. Joined Mu'āwiyah against 'Alī, and at Šiffin in 37/657 suggested to Mu'āwiyah the idea of Qur'ānic arbitration. Appointed by Mu'āwiyah to be one of the arbiters at Adhrūh, and unexpectedly declared 'Alī deposed and confirmed Mu'āwiyah. Meanwhile, Mu'āwiyah had re-appointed him governor of Egypt, where he remained in office till his death. 119.

'AMR IBN LAYTH. The second Šaffārid Amīr, r. 265/879–287/900, d. 289/902. Originally a mule-driver, then a stone-mason. Elected by the army to succeed his brother Ya'qūb (q.v.). Paid homage to the Caliph al-Mu'tamid and is described as a magnanimous and statesmanlike ruler. Clashed with the Sāmānids in Khurāsān and was defeated and captured at Balkh by Ismā'il the Sāmānid (q.v.), who sent him to Baghdād where he was executed by order of the Caliph al-Muktafī. 71, 94 f.

'AMR IBN MA'DIKARIB. Yamanite warrior and poet. Converted in 10/691 but apostatized and took part in the *riddah*; captured, then released by order of Abū Bakr. Fought in the battles of the Yarmūk and Qādisīyah (16/637); probably was killed there or at Nihāvand (21/641). Few of his poems survive. 146.

ANŪSHĪRVĀN, KHUSRAW I. The greatest Sāsānid king, famous for his justice and magnanimity. R. 531–79 (see table on p. 52). Third son of Qubād, who had attempted to curb the nobles and first favoured, then after an attempt to overthrow him, turned against and crushed the heretical Mazdakites. Anūshīrvān reformed taxation, to make it more equitable and productive; superimposed upon the feudal system a standing army and a bureaucracy; and sternly punished injustices and abuses. He maintained Zoroastrianism as the state religion and repressed heresy, but showed tolerance to the Nestorian and Monophysite Christians and the Jews. He also took an interest in Greek and Indian culture (see Introduction, p. lxxi). He waged intermittent wars against

the Byzantines, the Hephthalites (Hayāṭilah), whom he conquered, and after them the Turks; and built a wall to defend Īrān from the Turks. Around 570 he sent an army to the Yaman which drove out the Abyssinians and garrisoned the country. With long periods of external peace, and with internal security, Īrān prospered. Irrigation was developed, and trade was carried on with China, India, and Byzantium. Citrus-fruit and silk-worm cultivation were introduced from China, and the game of chess from India, and passed on to the West. The splendid arch of Anūshīrvān's palace (Ṭāq-i Kisrā) at Ctesiphon still survives. 55, 61, 62, 63, 64 f., 72, 73, 80, 81 f., 83 f., 96 n. 4, 105, 107, 108, 110, 124, 135, 154, 155.

ARDASHĪR I, PĀBAKĀN. The first Sāsānid king, r. 226–41. See table on p. 51. Son of Pābak and grandson of Sāsān, both of whom were high priests of the Zoroastrian fire-temple of Ištākhr in Fārs; claimed descent from Dārā (Darius). Ardashīr's family overthrew and killed Gūcihr, the vassal king of Ištākhr, and gained control of Fārs and Kirmān, c. 208. The Parthian sovereign Ardawān (Artabanus) IV refused to sanction this usurpation, but was defeated in battle by Ardashīr, 224. Ardashīr occupied the capital, Ctesiphon, was crowned King of Kings (*Shāhānshāh*) in 226, and extended his power throughout and beyond the limits of the Parthian dominions. Supported by the clergy, he made Zoroastrianism the state religion and reorganized and centralized the administration, giving it a more national character. Regarded as a virtuous king and exemplar of royal wisdom. 46, 96, 98, 106, 107, 109, 120, 144.

ARISTOTLE (Aristūṭālīs). The philosopher, b. 384 B.C., d. 322 B.C. See Introduction, p. lxx and p. lxxii. 73, 75, 96, 110, 139.

BADR AL-KABĪR. A slave-girl and lutist. 122 f.

BAHRĀM CHŪBĪN. Usurper, d. c. 591. Not a Sāsānid but of the house of Mihrān, which claimed descent from the Parthian Arsakids and was one of the seven privileged families. Commanded troops of Hurmuz IV in a victorious war against the Turks and later against the Byzantines. After a defeat by the latter he was humiliatingly dismissed by Hurmuz, but rebelled with the support of the troops. Hurmuz was deposed and then killed by members of the royal family, who gave the throne to his son Khusraw II Parviz. Bahrām Chūbīn defied the sacred right of the Sāsānids, proclaimed himself king and entered Ctesiphon. Khusraw escaped to Byzantium whence, with military help given by the Emperor Maurice and support from some of the grandees, he was able to recover his throne. The defeated Bahrām Chūbīn fled to the land of the Turks and was later murdered. He won a reputation for chivalry and formed the subject of a lost Pahlavi romance of which an Arabic translation was made; this also is lost, but was used by Ṭabarī and Firdawsī. 88, 94 n. 5.

BAHRĀM V GŪR ('The Wild Ass'—so-called on account of his vigour). Sāsānid king famous for his benevolence and gallantry, r. 420–38. Educated (or perhaps exiled) at the court of Mundhir ibn Nu'mān, the vassal Arab king of Ḥīrah. On the death of his father Yazdgard I, some

of the grandees murdered his elder brother Shāpūr, and proclaimed a prince of another branch of the Sāsānid family as king; but Bahrām was able to win the throne with the help of Mundhir's troops. He conciliated the nobles, supported the Zoroastrian state church, reduced the taxes, and encouraged people to enjoy life. Many stories are told of his prowess in love and war, skill in hunting, and fondness for poetry and music. 46, 80, 87 f., 93 n. 4, 107.

BANŪ HĀSHIM. See Hāshimites.

BANŪ Umayyah. See Umayyads.

BARMAKIDS. Family descended from the high priests of the principal temple at Balkh, called the Nawbahār (probably a Buddhist *vihāra*). After the final Arab conquest of the city (date uncertain), they became Muslim and retained possession of the temple estates. Khālid al-Barmakī (d. 165/781–2) joined the 'Abbāsīd revolt in Khurāsān, served the Caliph Saffāh as head of the *diwāns* of the army (*jund*) and land-tax (*kharāj*), and was governor of provinces in the east of the empire under Manšūr and Mahdī. His son Yaḥyā, one of the most illustrious *wazīrs* in Muslim history, was appointed tutor-secretary to the prince Hārūn in 158/775. He was imprisoned by the Caliph Hādī for a short while before the latter's murder, and thereafter served Hārūn as *wazīr* for seventeen years. He did much to promote prosperity in the empire, but acquired such prestige and wealth that he almost overshadowed the Caliph himself. His sons Faḍl and Ja'far served as his assistants, as tutors to the Caliph's sons Amīn and Ma'mūn respectively, and at times as provincial governors. Ja'far was Hārūn's favourite, Faḍl the first to incur his displeasure. In 186/803 Ja'far was suddenly executed by order of Hārūn; Yaḥyā (d. 180/805), Faḍl (d. 193/808) and others of the family were imprisoned at Raqqah, where Hārūn usually resided; and all their wealth was confiscated. 104, 111, 116, 120, 122, 123 f., 125 ff., 127 ff.

BUZURGMİHR. Sage at the court of Anūshīrvān; concerning his identity and significance see Introduction, pp. lxviii ff. 75, 77, 90, 111, 135, 136, 137, 138, 140, 142, 145, 154, 155.

CAESAR OF THE ROMANS (Qayṣar-i Rūm). 18, 64 f., 73.

DAHĤĀK. Mythical tyrant who overpowered and slew the mighty and beneficent king Jamshīd; a cannibal with snakes growing from his shoulders. Overthrown after a thousand years by the hero Farīdūn, who chained him to Mount Damāvand. Also known as Bayvarāsb. 47.

DANĀNĪR. A slave-girl and singer, trained by Hārūn al-Rashīd's celebrated court musician Ishāq al-Mawṣillī. 126.

DĀRĀ IBN DĀRĀ (Dārā the Younger). See under Alexander the Great. 100 f.

DAVID (Dā'ūd). Prophet and king; also a Caliph (*Khalīfah*; Q. xxxviii. 25). He slew Goliath (Jālūt), and God revealed the Psalms (*Zabūr*) to him. A perspicacious judge, expert armourer, and fine singer. 17, 46, 72.

(THE) DEVIL. See Iblīs.

DHŪ'L-QARNAYN, 'The Two-Horned'. A surname of Alexander the Great (q.v.); also the name given in the Qur'ān (xviii. 83-98) to a person whom God made strong in the land and to whom He gave access to everything. This person travelled to the rising-place and setting-place of the sun and built a dam between two mountains to protect the people from devastation by Gog and Magog (Yājūj and Mājūj). Most but not all commentators identify him with Alexander the Great. 42 f., 58.

DHŪ'L-RİYĀSATAYN. Title of Faḍl ibn Sahl (q.v.).

EMPEROR OF CHINA (Faghfur). 64. See also p. 21.

EVE (Ḥawā'). Wife of Adam (q.v.). 164.

(AL-)FAḌL IBN SAHL. D. 203/818. Son of Sahl ibn Zādānfarukh, a Persian employed by Yahyā ibn Khālīd al-Barmakī (see Barmakids). In 190/806, after the execution of Ja'far ibn Yahyā al-Barmakī, he became tutor to Ma'mūn (q.v.) and was converted from Zoroastrianism to Islām. After the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd, Ma'mūn chose him as his *wazīr*. He directed Ma'mūn's policy towards Amīn (q.v.) and was given authority over both the civil and the military administrations with the title Dhū'l-Riyāsatayn ('Holder of the Two Directorships'). He commanded expeditions against Ustrūshanah in Turkistān and Kābul, whose princes acknowledged Caliphal suzerainty and embraced Islām. After Ma'mūn's troops led by the generals Ṭāhir and Harthamah had occupied Baghdād and eliminated Amīn, Faḍl's brother Ḥasan ibn Sahl was appointed governor of 'Irāq. Factions of 'Irāqīs who disliked Ḥasan because he was a Persian and objected to the designation of 'Alī al-Riḍā as Ma'mūn's successor rebelled and proclaimed successive pretenders Caliph. Faḍl by means of false accusations led Ma'mūn to dismiss Harthamah, who died in prison, and also 'Abd Allāh ibn Mālik al-Khuzā'i (q.v.) and others; moreover, he misrepresented to Ma'mūn the facts of the situation in 'Irāq. 'Alī al-Riḍā is said to have given the true facts to Ma'mūn, who then set out from Marv (hitherto his capital) for Baghdād. On the way Faḍl was murdered at Sarakhs in the bath, allegedly by order of Ma'mūn, and 'Alī al-Riḍā died at Ṭūs after drinking pomegranate juice. Ḥasan ibn Sahl then had a nervous breakdown and left his post, but his health recovered and in 210/825 his daughter Purān was married to Ma'mūn with magnificent ceremonies. 98, 142.

(AL-)FAḌL IBN YAḤYĀ AL-BARMAKĪ. See Barmakids.

FARĪDŪN (or Afrīdūn). Mythical king who overpowered the tyrant Ḍaḥḥāk (q.v.), and ruled with splendour and justice for five hundred years. Father of Iraj, to whom he gave the lands of Irān; of Salm, to whom he gave the Syrian and Greek marches; of Tūr or Tūj, to whom he gave the Turkish marches and who was the ancestor of Afrasiyāb (q.v.); and of Minūchihr. Tūr and Salm murdered Iraj, but were eventually killed by Minūchihr, who had sworn vengeance. 46.

FĀṬIMAH. B. c. 605, d. 11/633. Daughter of Muḥammad by Khadijah; married 'Alī (q.v.) at Madīnah in 2/624 or 3/625 and became the mother

of Ḥasan, Husayn (q.v.), and two daughters. Came to be regarded by Sunnites and Shī'ites alike as an exemplar of virtuous womanhood. 169.

(AL-)FUḌAYL IBN 'IYĀD, ABŪ 'ALĪ. D. 187/803. Native of Marv and at first a bandit leader, but kind-hearted towards his victims. Repented and became a Šūfī under the spiritual guidance of Ābān ibn 'Ālī 'Ayyāsh. Held that this lower world is wholly bad and laid great stress on sincere intention. Was also a transmitter of sometimes doubtful Traditions. 20, 92.

GABRIEL (Jibrīl, Jabrā'il). Messenger-angel; communicated God's revelations to Muḥammad and earlier Prophets. 29, 58.

GALEN (Jālīnūs). The physician and philosopher, b. A.D. 129, d. c. 200. See Introduction, p. lxxiii. 113 n. 6, 140.

GUSHTĀSB (Hystaspes). Legendary king; convert and protector of Zoroaster. 93 f.

(AL-)ḤAJJĀJ IBN YŪSUF. D. 95/714. Born a humble member of the Thaḳīf tribe of Ṭā'if, he is said to have become a schoolmaster. Distinguished himself as a soldier in the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik's campaigns in 'Irāq against Muṣ'ab, brother of the anti-Caliph 'Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr; then commanded the force which besieged Mecca for seven months and finally killed 'Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr (72/692). Served as governor of the Ḥijāz and Yaman until appointed governor of 'Irāq in 74/694. Remained in that office under 'Abd al-Malik and Walīd until his death in 95/714. Celebrated for his ruthlessness in suppressing Khārijite, Shī'ite, and other rebellions and in enforcing the payment of taxation. Though afterwards viewed as a tyrant, he restored prosperity by establishing order and repairing and extending irrigation works. He made his headquarters at the new city of Wāsiṭ, midway between Baṣrah and Kūfah. His generals Qutaybah ibn Muslim and Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim conquered Transoxiana and Sind. The vocalization of the 'Uthmānic text of the Qur'ān is said to have been done on his order. 77, 144.

HĀMĀN. *Wazīr* of Pharaoh (q.v.). He built for his royal master a tower which reached to the sky. 20.

HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD. 'Abbāsīd Caliph, b. 149/766, r. 170/786-193/809. Designated by his father the Caliph Mahdī as second successor after his elder brother Mūsā al-Hādī. The latter during his reign of thirteen months tried in vain to persuade Hārūn to renounce his rights. After Hādī's mysterious murder, Hārūn al-Rashīd succeeded without opposition. On his relations with the Barmakids and their sudden fate, see Barmakids. Hārūn has remained famous for the prosperity of his reign and for his patronage of literature and music. He waged war against Byzantium with moderate success, and died at Ṭūs on his way to deal with a rebellion in Transoxiana. During the latter part of his reign he resided mainly at Raqqah on the Euphrates, east of Aleppo. 19, 20, 22, 122, 123 f., 125 ff., 127.

HĀRŪT AND MĀRŪT. Two angels in Babylon who teach people how to cause division between man and wife, but harm nobody except with God's permission (Q. ii. 96). Though imprisoned and suffering torture, they are still active. 33, 172.

ḤASAN AL-BAṢRĪ (Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan ibn Abī'l-Ḥasan). B. 21/642, d. 110/728. Celebrated preacher, ascetic, scholar, and transmitter of Tradition. Said to have been the son of a slave. Born at Madīnah but lived at Baṣrah. Corresponded with 'Abd al-Malik, Ḥajjāj and 'Umar II, and gathered a large circle of disciples. Many sayings are attributed to him and stories told of him. Appears to have been neutral in politics. Is regarded as the greatest pioneer of Sūfism. Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā', founder of the Mu'tazilite school, was his pupil but seceded on the question whether sinners are true believers. 25, 85, 90, 168.

HĀSHIMITES. The clan of the Quraysh tribe at Mecca to which Muḥammad belonged. It was one of the less influential clans. The name is also given to their descendants, including both the 'Alids and the 'Abbāsids. 130 f.

ḤATIM AL-AṢAMM ('The Deaf'; 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ḥatim ibn 'Ulwān). D. 137. An ascetic and mystic of Balkh; disciple of Shaqīq al-Balkhī (q.v.). 142.

ḤATIM AL-ṬĀ'Ī. D. c. 605. Pre-Islāmic poet and exemplar of hospitality and generosity. His *diwān* survives, and many stories are told of him. 105.

HIPPOCRATES (*Buqrāṭ*). The physician, b. c. 460 B.C., d. c. 357 B.C. See Introduction, p. lxxi, note 4. 139.

HISHĀM IBN 'ABD AL-MALIK. Umayyad Caliph, r. 106/724-125/743. Succeeded his brother Yazīd II ibn 'Abd al-Malik after the latter had died of grief over the loss of a beloved singing girl. A strict Muslim and efficient ruler, but notorious for his parsimony and harshness in exacting taxation. His troops invaded France but were defeated near Poitiers in 114/732. 30.

ḤUDHAYFAH IBN AL-YAMĀN (ibn Ḥusayl al-Yamānī). D. 36/657. Companion of Muḥammad; governor of Madā'in (Ctesiphon) under 'Umar; took part in the conquest of Persia, and at the decisive battle of Nihāvand in 21/642 assumed command when the first commander Nu'mān ibn al-Muqarrin was killed, and rallied the Arabs to victory. Was also a transmitter of Tradition. Said to have been a supporter of 'Alī. 17.

HURMUZ IBN SHĀPŪR (Hormizd I). Sāsānid king, r. 272-273. See table on p. 51. 121.

ḤUSAYN IBN 'ALĪ. D. 61/680. Second son of 'Alī by Fāṭimah; much loved by his grandfather Muḥammad. Married a Persian lady taken captive in the wars of conquest and believed to have been Shahrbānū, daughter of Yazdgard III. Considered by Shī'ites in later times (though not by all contemporary Shī'ites) to have become third rightful Imām after the death of his brother Ḥasan in 49/669. Lived quietly at Madīnah until Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah succeeded to the Caliphate, when he responded to a call from Kūfah and crossed the desert with a small party of relatives and supporters to assert his right. The Kūfans failed to rise

in his support, and a force sent by the governor 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād and commanded by 'Umar ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqās surrounded the party. Ḥusayn rejected an ultimatum to surrender, and although Yazīd's orders to 'Ubayd Allāh are said to have been to capture them alive, a skirmish occurred on the 10th Muḥarram; Ḥusayn was killed by Shimr, and his elder son 'Alī Akbar and a nephew and some others were also killed; his younger son 'Alī Aṣghar (Zayn al-'Ābidīn) and various kinsfolk survived. The heads of the deceased were taken to Yazīd, who is said to have deplored their loss; the survivors were sent to Madīnah, where they appear to have lived in peace. While Sunnites came to regard Ḥusayn as an exemplar of high-minded courage and devotion, Shī'ites view his martyrdom as a supreme sacrifice for the atonement of men's sins. 131.

IBLĪS (Greek *Diabolos*). The Devil; a rebellious angel or *jinn*, who refused to bow to Adam. His punishment has been postponed until the Resurrection Day; meanwhile he tricks men and leads them astray, except Believers. Often identified with the Satan (Shayṭān) who tempted Adam and Eve, but there are many Satans. 27, 39.

IBN 'ABBĀS. See 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās.

IBN MAS'ŪD. See 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd.

IBN AL-MUQAFFA', 'Abd Allāh. B. c. 106/724, d. 139/757. Originally named Rūzbih. Son of Dādūyah, a Persian nobleman who served in the revenue administration of Fārs under Ḥajjāj and who had a hand which was withered (*muqaffa'*), perhaps from torture. Adhered to the 'Abbāsid revolt, embraced Islām, and was employed as a secretary, mainly it seems in the governorate of Baṣrah. Translated from Pahlavi into Arabic the *Khvudāynāmah* (Book of the Kings) and other lost works, as well as the extant *Kaṭīlah wa Dimnah* (see Introduction, pp. lix ff.). Also composed in Arabic some extant and probably authentic prose works. Said to have been a crypto-Manichaean (*Zindīq*). Was put to death by fire at Baṣrah, allegedly for imitating the style of the Qur'ān and translating books which corrupted the faith and morals of the Muslims, but possibly in fact for suspected intrigue with the Caliph Manṣūr's uncle 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī, who had commanded the 'Abbāsid armies which defeated and killed the last Umayyad Marwān II and had been imprisoned at Baṣrah by Manṣūr after claiming the Caliphate on the death of Saffāh. 134.

IBN AL-MU'TAZZ, 'Abd Allāh. D. 295/908. 'Abbāsid prince devoted to poetry and learning; author of surviving anthologies, poems, and works on rhetoric and literary criticism. Proclaimed Caliph by a faction of troops on the death of his second cousin al-Muktafi; chased from the palace by another faction later the same day, and murdered twelve days later. 113 n. 5.

IBN AL-QIRRIYAH. D. 84/703. So-called after his mother; real name Ayyūb ibn Zayd. Eloquent preacher and agitator against Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf (q.v.). Imprisoned by Ḥajjāj, who held disputations with him and later put him to death. 144.

IBN 'UMAR. See 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar.

IMRU'L-QAYS. D. c. 540. Pre-Islāmic poet, author of the finest ode in the collection of the seven *'Mu'allaqāt'* made in 155/772 by Ḥammād al-Rāwiyah. His father, Ḥujr ibn Ḥārith, king of Kindah, was murdered, and he sought unsuccessfully in long wanderings to avenge the deed and recover the kingdom. Said to have gone to Byzantium to seek help from the emperor (Justinian), but without success; and to have died on his return journey at Ankara, allegedly poisoned by the emperor's order. 105.

ISMĀ'IL IBN 'ABBĀD, called 'The Sāhib'. B. 324/936, d. 385/995. Illustrious *wazīr* in the service of the Būyid rulers of Rayy and Iṣfahān, Mu'ayyid al-Dawlah and Fakhr al-Dawlah. Patron of Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadānī, al-Tha'ālibī, and numerous other (mainly Arabic) authors. Himself author of a dictionary and of a treatise on prosody (both lost). 115.

ISMĀ'IL IBN AHMAD. Sāmānid Amīr, r. 279/892–295/907. Eliminated but did not kill or maim his brother Naṣr I, the founder of the dynasty (r. 250/864–279/892). When 'Amr ibn Layth (q.v.) raised pretensions to Transoxiana, Ismā'il defeated him at Balkh in 287/900 and annexed Khurāsān with Caliphal sanction. 70 f.

'IZRĀ'IL. The Angel of Death. Mentioned, but not by name, in Q. xxxii. 11. 39–42.

JA'FAR IBN MUSA AL-HĀDĪ. Son of the Caliph (Mūsā al-)Hādī, who reigned for thirteen months and was mysteriously murdered in 170/786 in his harem, probably at the instigation of his brother Hārūn al-Rashīd (q.v.) or of their mother Khayzurān. Ja'far was thus a first cousin of Amīn (q.v.) and Ma'mūn (q.v.). 122 f.

JA'FAR IBN YAḤYĀ AL-BARMAKĪ. See Barmakids.

JESUS ('Isā). Prophet and apostle, son of the virgin Mary (Maryam) by God's word; a spirit from God. He received the Gospel (*Injīl*) from God. He had power to raise the dead, heal the sick, and breathe life into clay birds. He was not crucified, another being substituted for Him, and He was raised to God. His coming was a sign and a mercy to men, among whom he lived in poverty, doing them good by His example and bringing them wisdom and proofs of God. 26, 33 f., 35, 38, 147 f.

JOHN son of ZACHARIAS (Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyā). Prophet, miraculously born to his parents in their old age and gifted with speech in the cradle. Wise, gentle, pure, and devout. Contemporary with Jesus. 26.

JOSEPH (Yūsuf). Prophet, son of Jacob (Ya'qūb). Sold into slavery by his brothers and taken to Egypt. His beauty infatuated his master's wife (Zulaykhā), but he resisted her temptations on a clear sign from God. His innocence was proved by the fact that his shirt was torn from behind. He was imprisoned nevertheless, and while in prison interpreted Pharaoh's dream as meaning that there would be seven fat and seven lean years. Pharaoh (q.v.) put him in charge of the granaries of Egypt, and he summoned his brothers to join him there. 113, 172.

(AL-)KHIDR, or KHADIR. The name given to a servant of God mentioned in Q. xviii. 60–82, whom Moses met on his journey to the meeting-place of the two seas. Sometimes identified with Elias (Ilyās), sometimes with the companion of Alexander (q.v.) who went with him to the spring of life. Popularly believed to help Muslims in distress and appear to them in green, whence his name. 16.

LUQMĀN. Sage, mentioned in Q. xxxi. Famous for his longevity. The later Muslims ascribed to him many of the fables ascribed in the West to Aesop. 107 n. 1, 135, 143, 146.

MAJŪS. Magians. Mentioned in Q. xxii. 17, and taken to mean Zoroastrians in general. 46.

(AL-)MAHDĪ, Abū'l-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh. 'Abbāsīd Caliph, r. 158/775–169/785. Son of Maṣṣūr. A luxury-loving ruler (unlike his father). His armies reached the Bosphorus and crushed the heretical 'Veiled Prophet' (al-Muqanna') of Khurāsān. He instituted an inquisition against the *zindīqs* (crypto-Manichaeans and Mazdakites). 72.

MAḤMŪD IBN SUBUKTIGĪN (Maḥmūd of Ghaznah). B. 361/971, r. 387/997–421/1030. His father was Subuktigīn, founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty and son of a slave-born troop commander in the service of the Sāmānids, who seceded and set up an autonomous state at Ghaznah in what is now Afghānistān. Maḥmūd conquered the Panjāb, Sind, and much of Persia; championed Sunnism and the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate, receiving the title Yamīn al-Dawlah; and raided the celebrated Hindu temple of Somnāth in Gujarāt in 417/1026, destroying its idol. He patronized Bīrūnī and other scholars and poets, but failed to kidnap the philosopher Ibn Sīnā after his refusal to come to Ghaznah. The niggardly reward which he offered for the *Shāhnāmāh* was spurned by Firdawsī in verses of immortal satire. 96.

MAJNŪN ('Mad'). The epithet given to Qays ibn al-Mulawwah of the tribe of Banū 'Āmir, a pre-Islāmic poet. He fell in love with Laylā bint Sa'd of the same tribe, but although she reciprocated his love, her father married her to another man. Mad with grief, he forsook his tribe and lived alone, wandering in the desert. In the end the unhappy Laylā became free; but by that time it was too late. Thanks mainly to Niẓāmī, this romance became a favourite theme of Persian literature. 173.

MĀLIK DĪNĀR. D. 127/745 or 131/749. Son of a slave who was later emancipated. Ascetic and mystic of Baṣrah; a disciple of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (q.v.), and himself a teacher of Rābī'ah al-'Adawīyah (q.v.). He stressed correct action as well as sincere intention. According to 'Aṭṭār, he was accused of stealing when on board ship, beaten, and thrown into the sea, whereupon fish came to the surface each bearing two *dīnārs*; whence his name. Hujwīrī tells a similar tale of him but states that Dīnār was his father's name. 136.

(AL-)MA'MŪN, Abū'l-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh. B. 170/786, r. 198/813–218/833. Son of Hārūn al-Rashīd by a Persian slave mother and half-brother of Amīn (q.v.). Had been governor of Khurāsān and continued while

Caliph to reside at Marv until 204/819, when he entered Baghdād after crushing a revolt in favour of his second cousin, the prince-musician Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī. Sought to reconcile the Shī'ites by designating their 8th *Imām* 'Alī al-Riḍā as his successor; but the latter died at Ṭūs in 203/818 (see under Faḍl ibn Sahl). Ma'mūn founded at Baghdād a Dār al-Ḥikmah, where the astronomer-mathematician Khwārizmī worked and where numerous works of Greek philosophy and science were translated by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq and others (see Introduction, p. lxx). In the last year of his reign he instituted an inquisition against judges and officials who would not subscribe to the Mu'tazilite doctrine of the created Qur'ān, which he had formally adopted in 212/827. His troops fought against the Khurramite heretics in Āzarbāijān, and in three successive years he personally led campaigns against the Byzantines, on the last of which he died at Ṭarsūs. See also 'Abbās ibn al-Ma'mūn. 81 f., 98, 150 f.

(AL-)MANŠŪR, Abū Ja'far 'Abd Allāh, called Abū Dawānīq. 'Abbāsīd Caliph, b. 93/712, r. 136/754–158/775. Succeeded his brother Saffāh and defeated the rival claimant, his uncle 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī (see under Ibn al-Muqaffa'). Treacherously put to death the Khurāsānian commander Abū Muslim, to whom he owed his victory over 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī and to whom the 'Abbāsids owed their victory over the Umayyads. Quelled numerous revolts and founded Baghdād, 145/672. Noted for his parsimony, he left a full treasury to his successor. 25, 119, 121, 151, 152 f.

MANŠŪR (ibn Ziyād). Held high official posts under Hārūn al-Rashīd and Ma'mūn. A Persian; at first a protégé of the Barmakids. 125 ff.

MARWĀN I IBN ḤAKAM (ibn Abī'l-Āṣṣ ibn Umayyah). Umayyad Caliph, r. 64/684–65/685. A second cousin of Mu'āwiyah. Had been adviser to 'Uthmān (q.v.). Aged about 70, he rallied the supporters of the Umayyads in the confusion following the death of Yazīd (see under Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī) and defeated the forces of the anti-Caliph 'Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr at Marj Rāhiṭ near Damascus. The subsequent rulers of the dynasty were his descendants. 21 f., 67.

MARWĀN II (ibn Muḥammad ibn Marwān). Last Umayyad Caliph in the east, r. 127/744–132/750. Capable ruler and general; crushed revolts in Syria, 'Irāq and Persia. Resided at Ḥarrān. Was defeated at the Battle of the Zāb by an 'Abbāsīd army commanded by 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī, uncle of the future Caliphs Saffāh and Manšūr. Escaped to Egypt, but was caught and killed in a church where he had taken refuge. Then aged about 70. Called 'al-Ḥamīr', 'The Ass'; not, it is said, as an insult, but because of his tenacity. 98.

MOBED. Zoroastrian priest. In Sāsānian times there were several categories of clergy, whose titles and functions are obscure (Christensen, pp. 118 f.); but the supreme pontiff was called *Mobed-mobedān*. The office continued to exist in 'Abbāsīd times (Mez, p. 31), when Chief *Mobed* fulfilled the same function, as head of his community responsible to the government,

as did the Patriarchs of the Christians and Grand Rabbi (*Khākhām*) of the Jews. Zoroastrian priests today are called *Dastūr*; in Sāsānid times this title was probably given to jurisconsults (Christensen, s.v. *dastvar*). 80, 81, 102 f., 108.

MOSES (Mūsā). Prophet and forerunner of Muḥammad; God revealed the Torah (Pentateuch) to him. Exposed as a child. Received a message from God for Pharaoh. As signs of his mission, his rod was turned to a serpent, but when he picked it up, God restored it to its former state, and his hand became white and was unhurt. His brother Aaron (Hārūn) was his *wazīr*. Pharaoh refused to believe and desired that prayers be offered to himself as god. Moses divided the sea, and it engulfed Pharaoh and his troops. Subsequently Moses spent forty nights with God (whom he did not see) and received tablets on which God had written admonitions and particulars concerning everything. During his absence, al-Sāmīrī misled the people, and they made from their ornaments a calf in bodily form which lowed. Aaron disapproved but did nothing to stop them. Moses burnt the calf and in anger cast down the tablets, but picked them up and found inscribed on them guidance and mercy for those who fear their Lord. 27, 57 f., 106, 109.

MU'ĀWYAH (ibn Abī Sufyān). First Umayyad Caliph, r. 40/661–60/680. His brother Yazīd was one of the principal Arab generals in the conquest of Palestine and Syria. On the latter's death from the plague in 18/639, 'Umar appointed Mu'āwiyah governor of Syria, and he retained the post under 'Uthmān. He organized a navy, attacked Cyprus, and in 34/655 won a victory over the Byzantine fleet. He refused to recognize the election of 'Alī (q.v.) in 36/656, and demanded punishment of the murderers of 'Uthmān (q.v.). His forces met 'Alī's forces at Siffīn, and on the suggestion of 'Amr (q.v.) he proposed Qur'ānic arbitration. 'Amr, who represented Mu'āwiyah at the arbitration of Adhruḥ, declared 'Alī deposed and Mu'āwiyah best fitted to be Caliph. After 'Alī's death and after his purchase of Ḥasan's rights, he was recognized as Caliph by all except the Shī'ites and Khārijites, but this recognition was not extended to his son Yazīd whom he designated as successor; the pious circles regarded Yazīd as irreligious and disapproved of the hereditary principle in the house of Abū Sufyān (q.v.). Mu'āwiyah twice besieged Constantinople (in 49/669 with an army commanded by Yazīd and in the years 54/674–60/680 by combined sea and land operations), and his general 'Uqbah ibn Nāfi' conquered Carthage in 50/670. His governor Ziyād (q.v.) restored order in 'Irāq and Persia. Besides statesmanship, Mu'āwiyah possessed the Qurayshite virtues of accessibility, clemency, and *ḥilm* (level-headedness). 31, 92.

MUBĀRAK IBN FAPĀLAH (? Faḍl). Not identified. 25.

(AL-)MUGHĪRAH IBN SHU'BAH. D. c. 50/670. Of the Thaḳīf tribe in Ṭā'if, he killed thirteen men and came in 7/629 to Madīnah and embraced Islām. Employed by Muḥammad in diplomatic negotiations, and after the battle of Ḥunayn was commissioned to destroy the idol al-Lāt of Ṭā'if. Served under 'Umar on diplomatic missions in Persia and as

governor of Baḥrayn, then of Baṣrah. Dismissed by 'Umar in 17/638 on charges of adultery but not otherwise punished; appointed governor of Kūfah by 'Umar in 21/642. His agent at Madīnah, a Persian slave named Abū Lu'lu'ah Fīrūz, complained about him to 'Umar and getting no response murdered 'Umar in 23/644. Mughīrah remained governor of Kūfah under 'Uthmān, 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah till his death; he showed great diplomatic skill during the civil wars and was considered to be one of the four shrewdest politicians (*duḥāt*) of early Islām, the others being 'Amr (q.v.), Mu'āwiyah (q.v.), and Ziyād (q.v.). 162.

MUḤAMMAD (ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim). B. c. 570 or perhaps 580, d. 11/632. Apostle of God and last of the Prophets; called al-Amin because of his trustworthiness. Born posthumously and lost his mother in childhood; brought up by his grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and then by his uncle Abū Ṭālib (q.v.). At first very poor, his clan, the Hāshimites, being one of the lesser clans of the Quraysh tribe of Mecca. Did not know what scripture was, nor faith. Went into business and entered the service of Khadijah, a widow who carried on trade independently. She married him because of his trustworthiness and bore him several children, of whom only one, Fāṭimah (q.v.), bore grandsons who reached adulthood. In 612 Muḥammad began to receive revelations from God through Gabriel (q.v.). His preaching of the belief in one God and in resurrection and judgement won a few devoted converts but was received with indifference by most Meccans. After he had resisted a temptation to compromise by recognizing the Meccan gods and goddesses as subordinate deities, the Meccans instituted a persecution, and some of his followers withdrew to Abyssinia; but Abū Ṭālib protected his nephew. Khadijah and Abū Ṭālib died, and Muḥammad accepted an invitation to arbitrate between contending factions at Madīnah; he and his Companions migrated to Madīnah in 1/622. He drew up a constitution for the community there, and fought wars against the Meccans, whose troops were commanded by Abū Sufyān (q.v.); he won the victory of Badr in 2/624, suffered a reverse at Uhūd in 3/625, and repulsed the Meccan besiegers in the War of the Ditch in 5/627. Within Madīnah he eliminated the Jews and quelled the Hypocrites. In 6/628 he made a truce with the Meccans, but their tribal allies broke it, and in 9/630 he marched on Mecca, which surrendered peacefully after negotiations with Abū Sufyān; then, after taking steps to reconcile the hearts of the Meccans, he overcame the resistance of the Hawāzin and Thaḳīf tribes in the hard-fought battle of Ḥunayn and conquered the neighbouring city of Ṭā'if. By diplomacy and war he brought much of Arabia under his political and prophetic authority; he also sent two military expeditions into Byzantine territory. In 12/632 he made a farewell pilgrimage to Mecca and regulated the Muslim pilgrimage rites, and about four months later he was taken ill and died. 3, 5, 12, 14, 15, 16 f., 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 37, 44, 45, 46, 53, 55, 58, 59, 67, 71, 89, 90, 104 f., 106, 113, 117, 142, 149, 158, 162, 163, 167 f., 169, 171.

MUḤAMMAD 'ALĪ IBN AL-FAPL. Not identified. 60.

MUḤAMMAD IBN KA'B AL-QURAZĪ. D. 108/727. Of the Jewish Qurayzah tribe of Madīnah. Spared on account of his tender age when the tribe was liquidated after the War of the Ditch (*see* under Muḥammad). Knew some of Muḥammad's Companions and was a transmitter of Tradition. 20.

MUḤAMMAD (IBN) LAYTH. A secretary under Maḥdī and Hārūn al-Rashīd. Said to have denounced the Barmakids to Hārūn al-Rashīd. 116.

MUḤAMMAD IBN ZUBAYDAH. *See* Amīn.

MUNKAR AND NAKĪR. Two guardian angels who interrogate men in the tomb. 10.

(AL-)MU'TAMID ('alā 'llāh). 'Abbāsīd Caliph, r. 256/870–279/892. A weakling, he left real power to his brother al-Muwaffaq, who warred against the heretical Zanj (negro) rebels in Southern 'Irāq, defeating them in 270/883, and against Ya'qūb ibn Layth (q.v.). Muwaffaq died in 278/891, and in 279/892 Mu'tamid moved the capital back to Baghdād from Sāmarrā', where it had been located since Mu'taṣim chose the site in 221/836. 97.

NEGUS (Najashī). Name given to the king of Abyssinia at the time of Muḥammad and to the kings of Abyssinia generally. During the persecution at Mecca some of the early believers including Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭālib migrated to Abyssinia; they rejoined Muḥammad at Madīnah. The Negus is said to have inwardly become a Muslim. The dynasty, however, remained Christian. 117.

NIZĀM AL-MULK, Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Ishāq, called 'The Khwājah'. B. 409/1018, d. 485/1092. Son of an impecunious landowner (*dihqān*) of Ṭūs. Memorized the Qur'ān at the age of 11 and studied theology and law with a Shāfi'ite teacher at Nishāpūr. After the battle of Dandānqān in 432/1040, his father and he migrated to Ghaznah and he entered the Ghaznavid service as a *dabīr* (secretary). Some time later he transferred to the service of the Saljūqs, first at Balkh and then at Marv, which was the headquarters of Chaghri Beg Dā'ūd, the Saljūq co-ruler (d. 452/1060), and of his son Alp Arslān, who was governor of Khurāsān. When Chaghri's brother Ṭughril Beg Muḥammad, the conqueror of Baghdād, died childless in 455/1063, Alp Arslān succeeded to the Sultānate against the claims of Sulaymān, his paternal uncle. Sulaymān had been backed by Ṭughril's *wazīr*, the eunuch 'Amīd al-Mulk Kundurī, who was cruelly put to death and who foretold a like fate for Nizām al-Mulk. For the next twenty-eight years Nizām al-Mulk served as chief *wazīr* to the Great Saljūq Sultānate. In 465/1072 Alp Arslān was murdered, and in accordance with his wishes Nizām al-Mulk secured the succession for his 17-year-old son Malik Shāh in the face of a dangerous revolt by an uncle, Qawurt Beg, and invasions from Samarqand and Ghazna; for these services he was rewarded with the title Atabeg ('father-lord'). On events in his later years and on his death by the hand of a Bāḡinite assassin, *see* Introduction, pp. xxviii–xxxi. 111.

NOAH (Nūh). Prophet; the people spurned his preaching of God's word. God made the oven boil and ordered Noah to build the ark. Only the few who believed were saved; Noah's son and wife did not believe. The waters were made to subside and the ark landed on a mountain called al-Jūdī. Noah was aged 950 years at the time of the flood (Q. xxix. 13-14). 3.

NŪH IBN MARYAM. A *qāḍī* (judge) of Marv. Not identified. 158.

PARVĪZ, KHUSRAW II. Sāsānid king, r. 591-628. Was made king by the palace faction who deposed and killed his father Hurmuz IV during the rebellion of Bahrām Chūbīn (q.v.). The latter refused to recognize him as king, and he fled to the Byzantine emperor Maurice. With military help from Maurice and backing from some of the grandees he recovered the kingdom. When Maurice was murdered by a usurper, Phocas, in 602, Parvīz made war against Byzantium. His troops, commanded by the generals Shahrbarāz and Shāhīn, overran Asia Minor and Syria, captured Jerusalem (614), conquered Egypt (616), and took Chalcedon opposite Constantinople (617). Later the tide of war turned in favour of the Byzantines, whose emperor Heraclius (acceded 610) invaded Mesopotamia, defeated Shahrbarāz, and captured Dastgard, Parvīz's usual residence seventy miles north-east of Ctesiphon. Parvīz refused to make peace; but he had killed, threatened and insulted several of his high officials and generals. He was deposed by the grandees, imprisoned, and later put to death with several of his sons. Another son, Shīrūyī, was made king with the name Qubād II; he is said to have ordered his father's death. He made peace with Heraclius, restoring Syria, Palestine, Egypt, &c., to Byzantine rule, but died of the plague, leaving a 7-year-old son, Ardashīr III, as heir. Shahrbarāz then usurped the throne, murdering Ardashīr III, but was killed by his own soldiers two months later. Anarchy resulted, with a succession of powerless rulers including two queens, until Yazdgard III (q.v.) acceded in 634. Parvīz was famous for his wealth and splendour and also for his cruelty and avarice. Long remembered were his court musician Bārbad, who created the Irānian system of music, and his war-horse Shabdīz. *See also* Shīrīn. 88, 94 n. 5, 96, 117 n. 10, 153, 171 f.

PHARAOH (Fir'awn). King of Egypt at the time of Moses (q.v.) and Aaron (q.v.); exemplar of tyranny and arrogance. When Moses brought him a message from God, he refused to believe; he desired that prayers be offered to himself as god and ordered his minister Hāmān (q.v.) to build a tower reaching to the sky. Drowned with his troops when Moses divided the sea. 20, 109.

PLATO (Aflāṭūn). The philosopher, b. 428 or 429 B.C., d. 347 B.C. *See* Introduction, p. lxx and p. lxxiii. 91.

QATĀDAH (Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb Qatādah ibn Dī'āmah al-Sudūsī). D. 117/735. A Qur'ānic exegete, pupil of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. A forerunner of Mu'tazilite thinking; alleged to have been one of the Qadarites (believers in free will, who were suspected of dualism). 59.

QURAYSH. The Arab tribe of Mecca. Its most important clans before Muḥammad were the Umayyads (q.v.) and the Makhzūm; the Hāshimītes (q.v.) were a lesser clan. 15, 132.

RĀBĪ'AH AL-'ADAWĪYAH. B. 95/713-4 or 99/717, d. 185/801. Celebrated woman saint of Islām. Said to have been a lutist and to have been kidnapped and enslaved in her youth, then manumitted because of her piety. Lived an ascetic life in the desert near Baṣrah, surrounded by a large circle which included Mālik Dīnār (q.v.), Sufyān al-Thawrī (q.v.), and Shaḥīq al-Balkhī (q.v.). One of the first to teach the Ṣūfī doctrines of unselfish love (*ḥubb*) and union with God (*waṣl*). Many sayings of hers and anecdotes about her are quoted, including her words: 'O Lord, if I worship You from fear of hell, burn me therein; if I worship You in hope of paradise, exclude me thence; but if I worship You for Your own sake, withhold not from me Your eternal beauty.' 168.

RĀST-RAVISHN. Legendary *wazīr* of King Gushtāsh (q.v.). 93 f.

ŠĀḤIB ISMĀ'IL IBN 'ABBĀD. *See* Ismā'il ibn 'Abbād.

SA'ID IBN JUBAYR. An ascetic of Kūfah. Contemporary and correspondent of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. 150.

SA'ID IBN SALM AL-BĀHILĪ. High-ranking courtier and provincial governor under Hārūn al-Rashīd and Ma'mūn. 123 f.

ŠAKHR IBN 'AMR AL-KALBĪ. D. c. 40/661. A companion of Muḥammad and transmitter of Tradition. 117.

ŠĀLIḤ, called Šāḥib al-Muṣallā ('he who offered the carpet for prominent visitors to sit on'). A servant of Hārūn al-Rashīd. 125 ff.

SALMĀN (AL-)FĀRSĪ. Companion of Muḥammad; the first Persian convert to Islām. His Persian name was Firūzān. Said to have travelled in Syria as disciple of a Christian monk and to have been kidnapped by Bedouin; then, after being sold as a slave to a Jew, to have found his way to Madīnah, where he became a 'client' (*maṭlā*) of Muḥammad himself. He advised the digging of the Ditch whereby the Muslims withstood the Meccan siege of Madīnah in 5/627. Died at Madā'in (Ctesiphon), where his tomb is still a place of pilgrimage. Both the Ṣūfīs and the Shī'ites claim Salmān as one of themselves. Extreme Shī'ites, such as the still-existent 'Alawite (Nuṣayrī) sect in Syria, place Salmān on a par with Muḥammad and 'Alī, Salmān being the 'gate' (*bāb*), 'Alī the 'idea' (*ma'nā*), and Muḥammad the 'name' (*ism*). 163.

SHABĪB IBN SHABBAH (al-Minkarī). A preacher. His eloquence consoled the Caliph Mahdī (q.v.) on the death of a favourite daughter. 72.

SHĀHANSHĀH OF RAYY. Būyid ruler, either Mu'ayyid al-Dawlah (d. 372/983) or Fakhr al-Dawlah (d. 387/997). The Būyids revived and assumed the ancient title Shāhanshāh (King of Kings). 115.

SHAḤĪQ AL-BALKHĪ (Abū 'Alī Shaḥīq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Azdī). D. 194/810. Mystic of Balkh; first propounder of the concept of *tawakkul* (passive trust in God). Died fighting in Holy War. 19.

SHĪRĪN. Favourite wife of Khusraw II Parvīz (q.v.). Said to have been of humble origin; Christian by religion. Her first lover is said to have been a stone-mason, Farhād; their romance is one of the most popular themes of Persian literature. Khusraw promised Shīrīn to Farhād if he should cut through the mountain of Bisitūn; Farhād had almost done this when a false report came that Shīrīn was dead, and he lamented bitterly and expired from grief. 171 f.

SINDIBĀD. A sage who figures in the story of the Seven Wazīrs, a popular cycle of folklore found in Persian and in the 1001 Nights and several medieval European languages. A king entrusts the education of his son to this sage, who orders the young prince to keep silence for a week. The favourite queen then makes slanderous allegations about the prince, who cannot reply, and the king sentences him to death. However, the king's seven *wazīrs* tell seven stories to him, thereby delaying matters till the eighth day when the prince speaks and proves his innocence. 173.

SOCRATES (Suqrāt). The Philosopher, b. 469 B.C., d. 399 B.C. See Introduction, p. lxx and p. lxxiii. 75, 91, 134, 139.

SOLOMON (Sulaymān). Prophet and king; son of David (q.v.). Possessed discerning judgement and great knowledge. *Jinns* worked for him, a fountain of brass flowed for him, the wind obeyed him, and he could speak to birds. One bird, the hoopoe (*hudhud*), brought him news of the Queen of Sheba, Bilqīs, who ultimately heeded his appeal to her to embrace Islām. For a while he preferred good things to remembering God, but he repented. 42, 108, 157.

SUFYĀN (AL-)THAWRĪ. B. c. 97/715–6, d. 160/777 or 161/778. Theologian and ascetic of Kūfah; a transmitter of not always accurate Traditions. Founded a school of law which did not last. A rigorist, he opposed Abū Ḥanīfah because of the latter's use of *ra'y* (rational judgement in the absence of Qur'ānic or Traditional prescription). 87, 97.

SULAYMĀN IBN 'ABD AL-MALIK. Umayyad Caliph, r. 98/715–99/717. Succeeded his brother Walīd in accordance with the designation made by 'Abd al-Malik; Walīd on the advice of Ḥajjāj (q.v.) had designated his own son, but the latter and also Ḥajjāj had died. Out of hatred for Ḥajjāj, Sulaymān dismissed the generals and officials who had served him in 'Irāq and Persia, thereby causing much disorder. He warred against Byzantium, reaching the Bosphorus, but had to retire. A cruel and pleasure-loving ruler, he was nevertheless persuaded by a theologian to designate as successor the pious 'Umar II (q.v.) rather than his own son. 21, n. 3, 60.

TĀSH (Ḥusām al-Dawlah Abū'l-'Abbās Tāsh). D. 377/986–7 or 379/989. Turkish general under the later Sāmānids. When the Sāmānid realm began to break up, he held Nishāpūr for a short time but was driven out and fled to the Būyid Fakhr al-Dawlah (q.v.), who sent him to Gurgān; there he died suddenly of plague or poison. 132.

'UMAR II IBN 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ (ibn Marwān). Umayyad Caliph, b. 63/682–3, r. 99/717–101/720. Son of the good governor of Egypt, 'Abd al-'Azīz

(q.v.). Educated at Madīnah and appointed in 87/706 by Walīd to be governor of the Ḥijāz; exercised his authority there with the guidance of a council of ten '*ulamā*'; was recalled in 93/711–12 at the instance of Ḥajjāj. Succeeded to the Caliphate without opposition on the death of Sulaymān (q.v.). His upbringing and pride in his descent from 'Umar I, who was his mother's grandfather, made him the most conscientious of all Caliphs. He discontinued the Umayyad practice of cursing 'Alī at the Friday prayers; compensated the Christians for the cathedral at Damascus which Walīd (q.v.) had taken from them; and sought to spread Islām by persuasion rather than force. He did justice to the *mawālī* (non-Arab converts to Islām), giving them equal pay with Arabs in the armed forces and exempting them from payment of the humiliating poll-tax (*jizyah*) which was being illegally imposed on them. His attempt to solve the problem of the land tax (*kharāj*) appears to have been less successful. He frequented '*ulamā*' and corresponded with Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. His tomb, alone among the tombs of the Umayyads, was not desecrated by the 'Abbāsids. His pious reign lasted only two years. 20, 21, 22, 29, 60, 67, 68, 69, 85.

'UMAR I IBN AL-KHAṬṬĀB. Second Caliph, r. 13/634–23/644. A Meccan of modest family; at first vehemently opposed to Islām; converted in 518. Together with Abū Bakr was Muḥammad's close friend and counsellor at Madīnah. On Muḥammad's death he proposed that Abū Bakr be Caliph, and on Abū Bakr's death he appears to have been chosen with the approval of all Muḥammad's Companions except the supporters of 'Alī. He preferred the simpler title 'Prince of the Believers' and continued living austere. His command of men was such that the Arab generals who conquered Syria, 'Irāq, Egypt and Persia during his reign obeyed his orders without question; and he was able to dismiss those guilty of injustice or misconduct. Important institutions and reforms are attributed to him, including the office of *qāḍī* (Islāmic judge). He was murdered by Abū Lu'lu'ah, a Persian slave of Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah (q.v.), when still in his prime and before he had made any proposal for the succession. Called al-Fārūq because he distinguished right from wrong. 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 26, 30, 31, 53, 65, 66, 67, 89, 114 f., 119, 158, 162.

'UMĀRAH IBN ḤAMZAH (ibn Mālik ibn Yazīd). D. 200/814–15. Secretary and courtier under Manṣūr and Mahdī. Also served as revenue officer or governor in Baṣrah, Ahwāz and Fārs. Famous for his generosity and eloquence, but notorious for his extravagance and conceit. Author of a lost *adab* work (see Introduction, p. lxii, note 4). 121.

UMM SALAMAH. (Hind bint Abī Umayyah al-Mughīrah). A wife of Muḥammad, who married her in 4/626 after her former husband Abū Salamah 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Asad al-Makhzūmī had died of wounds received at Uḥud. Her mother Barrah was a daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. 162.

UMAYYADS. The most influential clan of the Quraysh at Mecca. Called after Umayyah, grandfather of Abū Sufyān (q.v.). Renowned for their

commercial and diplomatic ability and *hilm* (level-headedness). The only other clan of comparable influence was the Makhzūm. Abū Sufyān's son Mu'āwiyah (q.v.) founded the Umayyad Caliphal dynasty. 30, 67, 130 f.

'UTHMĀN (ibn 'Affān ibn Abī'l-'Aṣṣ ibn Umayyah). Third Caliph, r. 33/644–35/655. A Meccan of the Umayyad clan, noted as a young man for his elegance. Married Ruqayyah, a daughter of Muḥammad by Khadijah, and embraced Islām. Migrated to Abyssinia; rejoined Muḥammad at Madīnah; did not fight at Badr because Ruqayyah was on her death-bed. Then married Umm Kulthūm, another daughter of Muḥammad by Khadijah; whence his epithet *Dhū'l-Nūrayn*, 'He of the Two Lights'. Elected Caliph by the *Shūrā* (Council of Advisers) which met after 'Umar's death. A weak though pious ruler, he was accused of nepotism; and he antagonized certain pious circles by ordering the official recension of the Qur'ān (in its present form) and the destruction of all other versions. A party of rebels from Egypt led by Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr besieged his house, then, on a false rumour of treachery, rushed in and killed him: He was reading a copy of the Qur'ān at the time, and it was bespattered with his blood. 19.

WAḤB IBN MUNABBIH (al-Ḍimārī). B. c. 34/654; d. 110/728 or 114/732. A Yamanite, probably one of the *Abnā'* (descendants of the Persian conquerors); his father may possibly have adhered to Judaism. One of the earliest Arabic prose-writers, he wrote a *Kitāb al-Mubtada'* containing South Arabian legends and histories of prophets from Adam to Jesus which was used by Ibn Ishāq, and also a *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* (history of Muḥammad's wars). Celebrated as a transmitter of Tradition and as an authority on both Jewish and Christian lore, also as an ascetic. 39, 141.

WALĪD IBN 'ABD AL-MALIK. Umayyad Caliph, r. 88/705–98/715. Succeeded by designation of his father 'Abd al-Malik after the death of his uncle 'Abd al-Azīz (q.v.). Interested mainly in building and economic development. Rebuilt the Prophet's mosque at Madīnah and confiscated the Christian cathedral at Damascus, enlarging it into the magnificent mosque of the Umayyads. Gave a free hand in 'Irāq and Persia to the governor Ḥajjāj (q.v.), whose generals Qutaybah ibn Muslim and Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim conquered Transoxiana and Sind. 60.

YAḤYĀ IBN KHĀLID AL-BARMAKĪ. See Barmakids.

YA'QŪB IBN LAYTH. The first Ṣaffārid Amīr, r. 247/861–265/879. A native of Sistān; began life as a copper-smith and was proud of it. Organized the people of Sistān in their resistance to Khārijite and other marauding bands. Gained control of Khurāsān and Fārs, but his authority in Fārs was not recognized by the Caliph Mu'tamid. Made war against the Caliph, but refused to ally himself with the heretical Zanj (negro) rebels of southern 'Irāq. Defeated by the Caliph's brother Muwaffaq at Dayr al-'Āqūl near Baghdād; retired with his army largely intact and died shortly afterwards. 97 f., 99.

YAZDGARD I, called 'The Sinner' (*Bizakhār, al-Athīm*). Sāsānid king, r. 399–421. Appears to have antagonized the Zoroastrian clergy and the

grandees. Said to have been killed by the kick of a horse which entered the palace. Father of Bahrām Gūr (q.v.). 87, n. 1, 103 f.

YAZDGARD II. Sāsānid king, r. 438 or 439–57. According to Ṭabarī it was he (and not Yazdgard I) who abolished the royal audiences for the redress of grievances. Son of Bahrām Gūr (q.v.). 103, n. 3.

YAZDGARD III IBN SHAHRYĀR. The last Sāsānid king, r. 632–51 or 652. A grandson of Parvīz. Placed on the throne by a general, Rustam, who began rebuilding the army to meet the Arab threat; but Rustam was defeated and killed at Qādisīyah in 15/636 by the army of Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqās, a Companion of Muḥammad and early convert. Ctesiphon (al-Madā'in) was lost in the following year. Yazdgard withdrew to Ištakhr in Fārs and prepared to defend Irān, but in the hard-fought battle of Nihāvand in 21/642 the Persian army was destroyed; both the Persian commander Firūzān and the Arab commander Nu'man ibn al-Muqarrin were killed, but the Arabs were rallied by Hudhayfah ibn al-Yamān (q.v.). The provincial governors and nobles then had to shift for themselves, and many came to terms with the Arabs. Yazdgard fled to Khurāsān, but got little support there, and his appeal to the king of China met with no response. Eventually in 31/651 or 32/652 he was murdered at Marv in the house of a miller who had given him shelter. 53, 87, n. 1.

YAZĪD (AL-)RAQĀSHĪ (Abū 'Amr Yazīd ibn Abān al-Raqāshī). D. 131/748. Ascetic and preacher of Baṣrah, eloquent in both Arabic and Persian; noteworthy as a *qāṣṣ* (recounters of pious anecdotes). A disciple of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. 41.

YŪNĀN THE DASTŪR. Sage. See Introduction, pp. lxvi–lxviii. 62, 63 f., 72, 83, 136, 154.

ZAYD IBN ASLAM. D. 45/665–6. A Companion of Muḥammad and transmitter of Tradition. 66.

ZAYN AL-'ABIDIN. See 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn.

ZIYĀD IBN ABĪHI. D. 57/676–7. An Arab of Ṭā'if, son of an unknown father by a woman called Sumayyah; whence his name, 'Ziyād son of his father'. Became a government secretary at Baṣrah and showed great administrative and diplomatic ability. He supported 'Alī and opposed Mu'āwiyah, but in 41/662 the governor of Baṣrah, Mughīrah (q.v.), effected a conciliation between him and Mu'āwiyah. To bind his allegiance, Mu'āwiyah adopted him as a 'brother' by a procedure called *istilhāq*. Opponents of the Umayyads alleged that Abū Sufyān (q.v.) was his real father and that Sumayyah was a harlot. Mu'āwiyah gave unlimited confidence to Ziyād, whom he appointed to be governor of Kūfah and after Mughīrah's death in 50/670 to be governor of Baṣrah also. Ziyād ruthlessly restored order in 'Irāq and Irān. He transplanted Arab rebels and turbulent Bedouin to the frontier province of Khurāsān and maintained an elaborate spy-network. 'Irāq prospered under his rule. He died a natural death and was succeeded as governor of Kūfah by his son 'Ubayd Allāh (see under Ḥusayn). 78 f.